

THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST

AND OTHER LECTURES

By
ARTHUR J. TODD

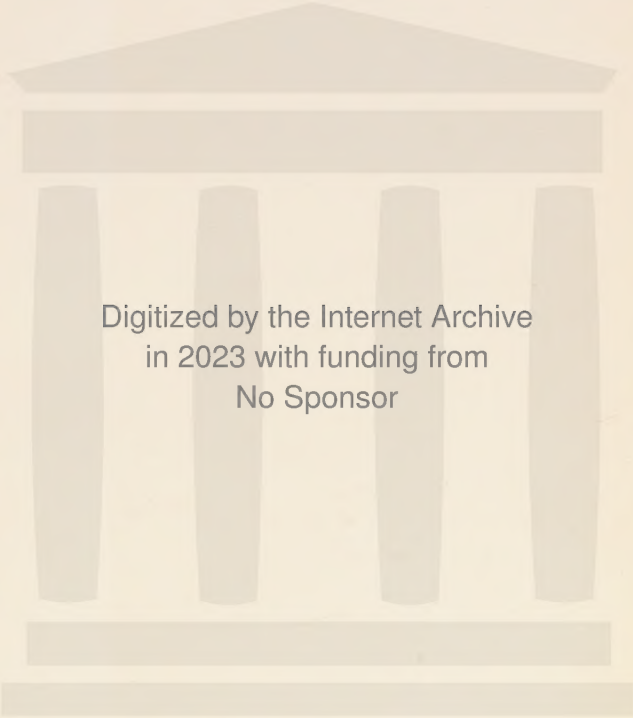


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THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST

By ARTHUR J. TODD
Professor of Sociology
Northwestern University

"A book is just a man talking" is an apt description of this volume of three informal lectures. And very good talk it is when the man is a trained and scholarly observer, who describes graphically and comments discriminat-ingly on experiences and impressions gained during a recent extended visit to Japan, China, and India. Readers of Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* will find Professor Todd's interpretations timely. \$2.50



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CONTENTS

PREFATORY NOTE AND COMMENT . . .	vii
----------------------------------	-----

I

THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST . . .	I
----------------------------------	---

II

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON THE ORIENT	51
---	----

III

EDUCATIONAL FERMENT IN THE EAST . . .	159
---------------------------------------	-----

IV

APOLOGIA AND APPENDIX	223
---------------------------------	-----





PREFATORY NOTE

THIS is not a book. It is just what it pretends to be, three lectures on certain phases of oriental life which engaged my interest during a recent voyage. I am told that in Russia the Soviet authorities are trying to overcome the superstitious awe with which the peasant regards a printed book by displaying large picture posters with the inscription, "A book is only a man talking." In preparing these lectures for the press I have retained so far as possible the informality of direct discourse. For that reason footnotes, authorities, obligations, and miscellaneous explanations have all been dropped into an appendix. That appendix may look like the interior of a village "general store" but at least it will serve to keep the public highway clear of the useful but unsightly wrappings of the merchandise itself.

ARTHUR J. TODD

Editorial Comment.—I sat on the platform behind Professor Todd when he was "talking" these lectures. I should like to take the same position now and without his knowing it, shake my head at his readers in protest against his deprecation of the notes and explanations which follow his lectures.

Some very illuminating comments, good quotations, and discriminating judgments were carried out with the wrappings when he arranged the show windows of his general store. The reader will be rewarded by thumbing about a bit in the appendix after Dr. Todd has done talking.

GUY STANTON FORD

I.

THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST



THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST

WE SET foot on Indian sands expecting, quite unreasonably, to find luxuriant tropical jungle like Ceylon, abounding in elephants, cobras, yogis, holy men, lamas, sacred cows, nautch girls, and spinning wheels, all surrounded by thundering surf beating against coral strands. Instead of that we found a sad land, thousands of square miles of monotonous sand, flat as New Jersey, more thousands of miles of barren plain and hill, like New Mexico or Arizona, thousands more being redeemed by irrigation. Only in Bengal and in parts of Madras Presidency did we find anything corresponding to my idea of a jungle.

Not a tiger anywhere except one poor specimen being carried through the streets of Calcutta in a box, destined for some menagerie. Sacred cows, yes, the strangest, saddest anomaly in that strange, sad civilization. Millions of skinny, black, dilapidated beasts wandering aimlessly to and fro over the land, eating up the scant pasture which might support a smaller number of well-bred, well-selected cattle; breeding at random by the will of the gods, dying of starvation or ill treatment, keeping children out of school as herders, constituting the general "cow problem," which exploded into a revolt seventy years ago,

which sundered Mussulman from Hindu, which prevents national unity now, and which aggregates a far greater drain upon the resources of the country than the British army of which we hear so much. Indeed my mature conviction is that India's trouble is not John Bull but the Sacred Bull!

We saw a land of painfully irrigated fields, rice-thatched huts, gaudy temples, and heard the bustle of modern industrial cities. We saw the same mania for building which had impressed us at the Ming tombs. We asked ourselves again why do men all over the world indulge in this craze, particularly for tombs and monuments? Is it a lust for power and rulership not slaked in lifetime? Is it a means by which the undistinguished can bluff posterity into a belief in their distinction? Is it the materialist's last fierce gesture against extinction?

We were stunned by the human color, the thousands of living bronze statues working in the fields, or squatted in the market place, or handling brilliantly dyed cottons and silks in the streets. We were strangely affected by the prevailing sense of order over this vast domain by contrast with the chaos and lack of direction or unity in China, whence we had just come. Yet, nowhere was there any very obvious display of authority, either military or civil. The railroad trains clipped along their way with but half the pomp and ceremony that used to attend an Italian train.

Perhaps it is the intense sunshine which obliterates sharp outlines, but many phases of Indian life which we knew must exist were not obvious. True we saw temples, but the religious life of the people did not obtrude itself except at Benares. I was amazed to find no Buddhists; I can recall only one or two yellow-robed priests during the whole two months in India, although Ceylon abounded with them. Caste itself is so subtle that it reveals itself only casually to the traveler, as when our young orthodox host at Benares declined our invitation to dinner, and when occasionally one would see at the railroad stations a drinking faucet padlocked and labeled "For the use of Brahmins only." Likewise the work of mission schools and hospitals does not greet one with the blare of trumpets. The visitor must hunt for them. No less quiet is the work of the men of the British administration, who toil year in and year out with intense devotion, many of them in obscure, out-of-the-way places, with but little return in thanks from either their Government or the unnumbered millions who benefit by their work for sanitation, irrigation, and education.

In spite of the unobtrusiveness of so much of Indian life, the letters we carried opened the locks of many doors otherwise closed and made it possible in a comparatively short stretch of time to cover an authentic cross section of Indian life. Because in a very accurate degree Mahatma Gandhi, the saint,

Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, and Sir J. C. Bose, the scientist, typify various phases of Indian life, culture, and aspiration, I have thought it wiser in the interests of economy and sharpness of exposition to crystallize my observations on Indian life around interviews with these three Wise Men of the East. I shall begin with Gandhi, the saint.

Early one January morning we were plunged into the murk and clatter around the railway station of Ahmedabad. Above the dusty roads and smoky atmosphere, caravan camels, and hundreds of people still snoozing about in the dirt, rose dozens of tall cotton-mill chimneys. Here, first off, we bumped into a symbol of that titanic wrestling match between West and East. There is little about Ahmedabad now to suggest its earlier glory. Some fine old carved balconies, a few beautiful perforated marble screens and tombs stand out above the general level of narrow, dusty streets. Inside the city walls the visitor finds himself in a mediaeval age of handicraft — small shops making kites, shoes, brass, silver chains; the bazaars, also mediaeval, filled up with rather cheap stuffs and food swarming with flies. Having already seen many similar instances of mediaeval handicraft production in China, we set out speedily on our main quest and took a rattling tonga for Gandhi's retreat.

About an hour's drive across a shallow sandy river and over a dry plateau, looking like parts of southern California, landed us at a group of white-washed

buildings which constitutes the asram or "college." The only living beings in evidence were a couple of workmen and a few children running about. Here and there we observed a handful of stunted fruit trees and a struggling cotton plant or two. I inquired for the Mahatma's secretary, whose brother, a Bombay journalist, had announced us by letter. I had been assured that Mr. Gandhi is quite accessible to visitors when his work and health permit. This proved to be true, for after half an hour or so the secretary appeared, a handsome, tall fellow with ingratiating manners. After he discovered that we were not journalists ourselves, he took us without formality to Gandhi's room.

The Mahatma was sitting on a low platform with a big white bolster at his back, in front of a table packed with papers, documents, and writing materials. Because it was the winter season, he was dressed in folds of ivory-colored cotton cloth. Gandhi is not an impressive figure. Indeed, with his close-cropped hair, pierced ears, short, sparse mustache, missing front teeth, and general emaciated appearance, the old prophetic description of the Messiah could well apply to him: "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." When we entered the room he rose, greeted us cordially, bade us keep our shoes on, and sat down like St. Sebastian, ready for the inevitable arrows. His secretary, to-

gether with a handsome, apparently disapproving young woman, probably another secretary, and a little girl, sat around during the interview watching us intently.

"Mr. Gandhi, what is India's chief problem?" I began.

"Poverty," he replied without hesitation, for his command of English is clear, precise, and gracious.

"Why?"

"Because in a predominantly agricultural country the farmers are idle from six to eight months in the year, and because of foreign domination, which makes for subtle loss of self-respect."

"Is it not really a problem of overpopulation?" I inquired.

"Not at all. India could support twice as many with present methods of cultivation, if . . ." (The inevitable *if!*)

"But is it not a problem of education?" I persisted.

"Not at all, though illiteracy *is* increasing, due to decay of the village schools, the result of a deliberate government policy."

"But is it not sickness, also?" I asked, remembering the standard analysis of poverty in my own country, which makes sickness and unemployment the two chief causes of poverty.

"No," said Mr. Gandhi. Then he hesitated and admitted that education would improve both income

and sanitation and therefore health, and therefore would at least indirectly remedy poverty.

"Granting that poverty is the chief problem, what is the remedy?" I inquired again. "Birth-control?"

Mr. Gandhi laughed gently though I had been told by some of his own disciples that they understood he had become unpopular in America through advocating birth-control. "No," he said, "for you can't get people to change their ways, particularly the uneducated masses, and they are the people who need to practice it. The purpose of reducing the population can be better accomplished," he argued, "through postponing marriages at least to the age of twenty for girls, preferably thirty, and the same or later for boys." He, himself, he confesses with shame, was married at the age of twelve or thirteen and was a father at sixteen or seventeen. He has, he said, no difficulty in persuading the men to wait until the age of thirty, but great difficulty with the girls.

"Why?"

"Because of custom, and the fear of young women that if they do not marry early, they will not find a husband at all."

My wife then inquired if he did not think it was because women feared that child bearing would be more difficult and dangerous at the age of thirty than at twenty.

"Not at all," said Mr. Gandhi. And that was that.

After this by-play we returned to the quest. "The real remedy, then?"

"The real remedy is the *charka*, the spinning wheel." Mr. Gandhi is still loyal to his formula and is courageous enough to practice it himself, for I saw two spinning wheels in the courtyard of his house. "No alternative," he explains, "has ever been successfully proposed. The spinning wheel is easy to build, requires little instruction, is not tiring, is remunerative and universally in demand. Of all India's imports the vast bulk, 60 crores (220 million dollars) per year, is cotton cloth; so cloth independence would keep this money at home, provide work for carpenters, etc., and teach thrift and industry through the adding of two rupees per year (74 cents) to the average laborer's income."

So far so good. "But," I asked, though without any cruel intent, "are many people spinning?"

He answered sadly, "Not enough."

"Why?"

"Because we cannot reach them. Our funds are too small."

"But suppose all the people would spin. What would you do with the yarn?"

That apparently had not been thought out in detail, but he said in general that the brokers of cloth independence would attend to weaving and market-

ing the cloth. He said nothing about growing the cotton, but one of his dissenting followers told me that is understood as part of the scheme. To date the campaign has succeeded in developing only a comparatively small consumption of homespun cotton cloth — one per cent of the total consumed.

Finding that Mr. Gandhi had nothing to add to his published pronouncements on the *charka*, I shifted my inquiry to the field of health. I told him I had just been reading his little book on health. He explained modestly that the book has had little influence yet. I remembered his statement that man's captivity or freedom is dependent on the state of his mind, since illness is the result not only of our actions but also of our thoughts; that more people die for fear of disease than from the diseases themselves; that medicine has been responsible for more mischief to mankind than any other evil; and that there is absolutely no necessity for sick people to seek the aid of doctors. So I asked him directly if he believed in spiritual healing.

"Yes, undoubtedly," he replied, "but not in the way of American Christian Scientists."

Was he familiar with them? Oh yes, twenty years ago in South Africa he had known several but had read little or none of their proffered literature. He had not looked much into this or other western methods of spiritual healing, for he felt that reducing spirit to method was like using a sovereign in place

of a penny to pay a penny bill. Use God to cure a headache! Sacrilege! Debasing the spiritual idea! You overeat, then use spiritual means to cure your sick stomach in order to stuff again. "But this," he observed, "is characteristic of American religion. Some few Americans have spiritual yearnings, but mostly it is for material things."

We could not judge him too severely for an ignorance of Christian spiritual healing which is still shared by millions of Americans, even after fifty years of opportunity for knowing better. But at least the Mahatma did not seem to be intolerant or wilfully ignorant, so I continued:

"You mean by this that the American heaven is just improved America?"

"Exactly," said the Mahatma, smiling.

"What, then, can America do to help India?"

"Many Americans have asked me the same question. You can study India critically, get the facts, and avoid two extremes, either rejection of everything Indian as worthless, or exalting personalities and"—he did not use the word, but implied it—"worshipping them as you have done with me. I do not want to be followed by crowds," he continued, "rather I should like them to carry out my ideas. I am nothing. I can work no miracles. If I fast or follow the ascetic life, it is because it is a law of my being." This he said as he slowly ate his frugal luncheon of goat's milk and raisins out of a brass

bowl, then followed that deliberately with a little plate of orange slices arranged artistically. Such patent disregard of nourishing food sent him to the hills a month afterward to recuperate. Not desiring to tax his strength unnecessarily we did not prolong the interview but made ready to go.

After taking gracious leave of us, he settled back quietly, and we departed under the guidance of his secretary. We did not want to retrace the dusty way to the city, so inquired for a short cut. Short cut there was none except by fording the river. Thereupon we decided to ford it, and sat us down on the river bank, took off our shoes and stockings, and waded across, partly to explore about the city walls, partly as a gesture to show that we were not so conventional as Mr. Gandhi had assumed by his story of the Hindu arrested in America for indecent exposure when he ventured forth in his national costume. Thus ended our visit to one of the world's great men.

This thumbnail sketch might well be enlarged into a more adequate picture of Gandhi and what he means in the history of modern India. Here is a homely little man who gives little overt sign of spiritual power, with none of the physical grace or charm of Tagore, little of the outward dignity and moral serenity of some of our western religious leaders. His political leadership seems to have passed to other hands. His economic ideas seem incomplete, if

not naive, his health injunctions almost childlike and elementary. After eight weeks of rather strenuous interviewing, I found only two individuals unreservedly committed to his program. One was a Ceylonese lawyer and tea planter, who was drinking too much whiskey and soda at a hotel in Anuradapura; the other was an eighteen-year-old student of philosophy in Bolpur. Yet his followers love him and believe in him, even though recognizing the limitations of his program. Shall we say that this is the old, old problem of the mystery of the eastern mind sealed to the West? Hardly. It is rather the natural consequence of inevitable contradictions in a complex personality.

Because Mahatma Gandhi has been so much in the world's eye for the last ten years and particularly because western radicals have tried to exploit Mr. Gandhi's activities for their own purposes, let me set down here briefly how it seems to me my interview with Mr. Gandhi harmonizes with his character and his record.

Even the barest outline of events in his life history convinces one of the breadth of Gandhi's interests, his genuine patriotism, and his passion for social justice. Born at Porbandor in 1869, the son of a prime minister of Porbandor and Rajkot, he was educated at the Kathiawar high school, London University, and the Inner Temple; betrothed at the age of 8, and married in 1881 at the age of 12. In 1891 he became an advocate before the Bombay High Court.

Visiting South Africa in 1893, he enrolled there as an advocate before the Supreme Court, in spite of white opposition, and built up a highly lucrative practice, which he finally renounced when he took a Tolstoian vow of poverty. In 1894 he founded the Natal Indian Congress, and a little later agitated in India on behalf of South African Indians. When he returned to South Africa in 1895 he was almost done to death by a mob under the leadership of an Attorney General, but was saved through the heroism of a police superintendent's wife. In 1899, during the Boer War, he offered his services to the South African Government, raised a voluntary ambulance corps, and served in several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906 at the time of the so-called Zulu "revolt" he raised a stretcher-bearing party and served until the revolt was put down. On both occasions he received medals and was mentioned in military dispatches. For his work in South Africa he was given a Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal by Lord Hardinge.

In 1901 he went to India to recoup his health, but later returned to South Africa. There he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association and the paper *Indian Opinion*, also the Phoenix Settlement in 1904 under the influence of Ruskin and in the face of an experience of conflict between capital and labor in South Africa. He engaged in anti-plague work in Johannesburg in 1904.

After the anti-Asiatic law agitation in 1906, he led in a passive-resistance struggle, was arrested, and imprisoned. Then came the famous compromise with General Smuts as a result of which Gandhi was nearly killed by his own followers as a traitor to Indian interests. After General Smuts repudiated the compromise, the struggle recommenced. Gandhi was arrested and imprisoned again. But at the outbreak of the World War he promptly went to England and raised a voluntary ambulance corps, consisting of Indians resident in London, chiefly students. The following year he returned to India, and there in 1918 was in the midst of raising a corps of recruits in Kedha when hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted.

In all these efforts he says he was actuated by a belief that it was possible by such service to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for his countrymen. The events of 1919 dashed these hopes and precipitated the campaign for Swaraj through non-cooperation and the boycott.

Whatever one may think of Mr. Gandhi as a politician or as an economist, no one can question his courage, his sincerity, his patriotism. Of all the people with whom I talked in India, only one, an octogenarian retired Indian judge was inclined to be critical. Even he admitted that Gandhi was a good man though a failure at the Bar. Universally the

Mahatma is revered as a good man and even as a saint. His character was well summed up by the trial judge in pronouncing sentence of six years' imprisonment upon him in March, 1922. Judge Bromsfield said: "The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals, of noble, and of even saintly life. . . . I do not forget that you have constantly preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence, but having regard to the nature of your political teachings and the nature of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand."

After announcing the sentence of six years, the Judge added: "I should like to say in doing so that if the course of events in India should make it possible for the government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

Upon hearing the sentence Gandhi said: "So far as the sentence is concerned, I certainly consider that it is as light as any Judge could inflict on me, and so

far as the whole proceedings are concerned, I must say that I could not have expected greater courtesy."

There is a touch of Socrates in that trial scene. This same Socratic courage and independence stands out indelibly through all his writings. For example, in 1920 in a vivid article on the caste system, he said: "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character in order to support a sinful institution. Indeed, I would reject all authority — if it is in conflict with sober reason or the dictates of the heart."

Last year he was taken to task by some orthodox Hindus for reading the Bible to students in his asram or college. "Is the Gita less to you than the Bible?" they asked. "Can the boys remain uninfluenced by the Bible reading? Are they not likely to become Christians by reading the Bible? Why not give preference to the Hindu Vedas?"

Gandhi answered his critics frankly and courageously. "I must give preference," said he, "to that which the boys lawfully want. By a majority of votes they asked to have the New Testament. They have every right to read the Bible or to have it read to them. I hold it is the duty of every cultured man or woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world. If we are to respect others' religions as we would have them respect our own, a friendly study of the world's religions is a sacred duty. The charge of being a Christian in secret is not a new one. It is both a libel and a compliment. There is nothing in

the world that would keep me from professing Christianity or any other faith the moment I felt the truth and the need for it. Where there is fear, there is no religion." The same courageous spirit prompted him to adopt a child from the despised "untouchable" or outcaste class.

On re-reading recently some passages from the life of Martin Luther I have found several well-marked and illuminating similarities between him and Gandhi. Both are essentially mystical, both look with the eyes of the common man, both rise to heights of fiery eloquence, both are naive in their economics, both look backward as their ideal to a simple rural economy, both are intensely suspicious of foreign trade, finance, and urban luxury, both are revolutionary conservatives arraigning "a degenerate civilization before the majestic bar of an uncorrupted past." A common hatred of capitalism and commerce, a longing for a vanished golden age of innocence and peasant prosperity link together by some strange irony, figures as far separated by continents and centuries as Luther, Hilaire Belloc, Gandhi, and G. K. Chesterton.

This estimate of Gandhi as essentially saint, preacher, and religious prophet gives the clue to his teachings. The brief report of my interview is little but a summarizing paragraph of his prophetic utterances for the last twenty years. Again and again throughout his writings we find him hammering away on the themes of godliness, non-violence, na-

tional unity, religious tolerance, love, and opposition to the materialistic civilization of the West as symbolized in lawyers, doctors, and railroads.

In the *Sermon on the Sea* nearly twenty years ago, he argued for godliness, a change of heart which should express itself in cultivating the spirit of non-violence, setting up branches of the national Congress in every village, introducing the spinning wheel in every home, promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability, and avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs.

At the same time he was protesting against western civilization, "What is this thing called civilization?" "Making bodily welfare the object of life," he answers, and illustrates his argument from European culture history. (See Appendix.)

He sounds the same note even stronger at the beginning of his campaign for "Swaraj in one year." "I am not a hater of the West," he explains; "I am thankful to the West for many a thing I have learned from western literature." But he hastens to add that he is above all grateful to modern civilization for teaching him that it must be shunned at all costs. Why? "Because it is the worship of the brute in us, it is the worship of the material."

His critics were not slow to accuse him of opposing progress. He accepted the challenge. "Do I want to put back the hands of the clock in progress?" he asks in return. "Do I want to replace the mills by hand spinning and hand weaving? Do I want to re-

place the railway by the country cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. . . . I have no design upon machinery as such. . . . But beware of salvation by machinery. Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization, it represents a great sin. If the machinery craze grows in our country, it will become an unhappy land."

Again he cries out the warning, "The tendency of Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, that of the western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is Godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behooves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to its mother's breast."

As with machinery, so with railways; for to Gandhi they are a great evil. How the heart of John Ruskin would have leaped to greet the Mahatma's rage at the "fire wagon." "It must be manifest to you," says Gandhi, "that but for the railways the English could not have such a hold on India as they have. The railways, too, have spread the bubonic plague. Without them, masses could not move from place to place. They are the carriers of plague germs. Formerly we had natural segregation. Railways have also increased the frequency of famine,

because, owing to facility of means of locomotion, people sell out their grain and it is sent to the dearest markets. People become careless, and so the pressure of famine increases. They accentuate the evil nature of man. Bad men fulfil their designs with greater rapidity. The holy places of India have become unholy. Formerly, people went to these places with very great difficulty. Generally, therefore, only the real devotees visited such places. Now-a-days, rogues visit them in order to practice their roguery."

You will observe here as elsewhere, in a certain recklessness and disregard of fact, a kinship with Luther and other preachers.

"Not only railways but," says Gandhi, the ex-lawyer, "doctors and lawyers have impoverished the country, so much so that if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined. Stay away from doctors and lawyers. There is absolutely no necessity for people to seek the aid of doctors; possess yourselves in patience and do not trouble them. A pure character is the foundation of health; cultivate purity, not medicine."

A counsel to avoid litigation sounds strange in the ears of a people proverbially litigious. I am reliably informed that court dockets in India number cases literally by the millions. Somebody had complained to Gandhi that he had advised when two men quarrel to stay out of the courts. Listen then to Gandhi's answer: "Whether you call it astonishing or not, it is

the truth. . . . My firm opinion is that the lawyers have enslaved India, and they have accentuated the Hindu-Mohammedan dissensions, and have confirmed English authority."

It is easy to see the logic of Gandhi's opposition to western civilization. Whether he willed it or not, it led inevitably to a boycott on European and English goods. This, of course, is not a new weapon in the attempt of a militant group of patriots to bring independence and self-government to their country. The appeal of Young India for cloth independence sounds surprisingly like a chapter in our own colonial and revolutionary history. Professor Jameson in his essays on *The American Revolution considered as a Social Movement* describes how when the English Crown, in 1767, proposed duties on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea, the enthusiasm for domestic manufactures revived in the American colonies. Resolutions were made to abstain from the use of "loaf sugar, . . . coaches and carriages of all sorts, imported hats and clothing, . . . gold, silver and thread lace, gold and silver buttons," plate, diamonds, clocks, watches, jewelry, muffs, furs, millinery, starch, women's and children's stays, velvet, gauze, silks, and many other articles more difficult to do without. The spinning wheel came into renewed use in every household, and homespun was worn by the wealthiest. Spinning matches at neighbors' houses became a common occurrence and an

excellent outlet for patriotic ardor. Imports from England into the northern colonies went down in 1769 to not much more than a third of what they were in 1768. Hence the repeal of all the taxes save that on tea. At Harvard Commencement in 1770, the graduating class appeared in black cloth entirely of American manufacture.

More important to Gandhi's mind was apparently the boycott on western *history*. "The English," he said, "have taught us that we were not one nation before, and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is without foundation. We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us. These thoughts," he continues, "are put into our minds by selfish and false religious teachers. The English put on the finishing touch. They have a habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples. God has given us a limited mental capacity, but they usurp the function of the Godhead and indulge in novel experiments. They write about their own researches in most laudatory terms and hypnotise us into believing them. We in our ignorance, then fall at their feet. . . . Any two Indians are one as no two Englishmen are. Only you and I and others who consider ourselves civilized and superior persons imagine that we

are many nations. It was after the advent of railways that we began to believe in distinctions, and you are at liberty now to say that it is through the railways that we are beginning to abolish those distinctions."

In spite of all this we must not forget that Gandhi has never charged that the English took India. Indeed he goes out of his way to say specifically, "The English have not taken India; we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them. It is as amazing as it is humiliating that less than one hundred thousand white men should be able to rule three hundred and fifteen million Indians. They do so somewhat undoubtedly by force but more by securing our cooperation in a thousand ways and making us more and more helpless and dependent on them as time goes forward. The causes that gave them India enable them to retain it. Some British state that they took and now hold India by the sword. Both these statements are wrong. The sword is entirely useless for holding India. We alone keep them. It is proved that the English entered India for the purposes of trade. They remain in it for the same purpose and we help them to do so. Their arms and ammunition are perfectly useless. English merchants were able to get a footing in India because the Hindus and Mohammedans were at daggers drawn. This gave the British East India Com-

pany its opportunity and thus created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. Hence it is truer to say that we gave India to the English than that India was lost."

A London newspaper correspondent interviewed the Mahatma during his campaign for "Swaraj in one year" and asked substantially the question I put to many Indians: Supposing the British Government were to retire because India is not a paying concern or because they are tired of the game, what will happen to India? Almost unanimously I got the answer, "anarchy," or "civil war," or "bloody conflicts between Hindus and Moslems."

But Gandhi's view was much more roseate. He replied: "At that stage surely it is easy to understand that India will then have evolved either outstanding spiritual height or ability of a high order, and will therefore be in every way able to cope with any emergency that might arise."

"In other words," continued the *Times* interviewer, "you expect that the moment of the British evacuation, if such a contingency arises, will coincide with the moment of India's preparedness and ability and conditions favorable for India to take over the Indian administration as a going concern and work it for the benefit and advancement of the Nation?"

Mr. Gandhi answered the question with an emphatic affirmative. "My experience during the last

months fills me with the hope," continued Mr. Gandhi, "that within the nine months that remain of the year in which I have expected Swaraj for India we shall redress the two wrongs and we shall see Swaraj established in accordance with the wishes of the people of India."

"Where will the present Government be at the end of the nine months?" the correspondent persisted.

Mr. Gandhi, with a significant smile, said, "The lion will then lie with the lamb."

Gandhi's whole gospel was conveniently summarized by him in his *Sermon on the Sea*:

"We will get nothing by asking; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the effort and that strength will be available to him only who

1. will on rare occasions make use of the English language;

2. if a lawyer, will give up his profession, and take up a hand-loom;

3. if a lawyer, will devote his knowledge to enlightening both his people and the English;

4. if a lawyer will not meddle with quarrels between parties but will give up the courts and from his experience induce the people to do likewise;

5. if a lawyer, will refuse to be a judge, as he will give up his profession;

6. if a doctor, will give up medicine, and under-

stand that rather than mending bodies, he should mend souls;

7. if a doctor, he will understand that no matter to what religion he belongs, it is better that bodies remain diseased rather than that they be cured through the instrumentality of the diabolical vivisection that is practiced in European schools of medicine;

8. although a doctor, will take up a hand-loom and, if any patients come to him, will tell them the cause of their diseases, and will advise them to remove the cause rather than pamper them by giving useless drugs; he will understand that, if by not taking drugs, perchance the patient dies, the world will not come to grief, and that he will have been really merciful to him;

9. although a wealthy man, regardless of his wealth, will speak out his mind and fear no one;

10. if a wealthy man, will devote his money to establishing hand-loomes and encourage others to use hand-made goods by wearing them himself;

11. like every Indian, will know that this is a time for repentance, expiation and mourning;

12. like every other Indian, will know that to blame the English is useless, that they came because of us, and remain also for the same reason, and that they will either go or change their nature only when we reform ourselves;

13. like others, will understand that, at a time of mourning, there can be no indulgence, and that

whilst we are in a fallen state, to be in gaol or in banishment is much the best;

14. like others, will know that it is superstition to imagine necessary that we should guard against being imprisoned in order that we may deal with the people;

15. like others, will know that action is much better than speech; that it is our duty to say exactly what we think and face the consequences, and that it will be only then that we shall be able to impress anybody with our speech;

16. like others, will understand that we will become free only through suffering;

17. like others, will understand that deportation for life to the Andamans is not enough expiation for the sin of encouraging European civilization;

18. like others, will know that no nation has risen without suffering; that, even in physical warfare the true test is, not the killing of others but suffering — much more so in the warfare of passive resistance;

19. like others, will know that it is an idle excuse to say that we will do a thing when others do it; that we should do what we know to be right, and that others will do it when they see the way; that, when I fancy a particular delicacy, I do not wait till others taste it; that to make a national effort and that to suffer under pressure is no suffering."

These last quotations, substantiating and expanding the ideas brought out in my personal interview,

indicate clearly enough the inconsistencies, the perverted historical sense, the contradictions in fact, yet withal the love, the patience, the courage, the self-sacrifice and devotion of the man Gandhi. As we see him and as we listen to him, we can not help wondering with his trial judge, how he could avoid drawing violent conclusions from his non-violence teaching. Nor can we wonder that not more than a hundred lawyers accepted his call for a general walk-out and a boycott on the courts. Still less can we wonder that one of his ardent young disciples in Bombay should confess to me that he believed Mr. Gandhi's economic plan would work in some other country but not in India, or that at this very moment Japan is unloading whole fleets of cotton cloth in Indian markets and that raw cotton is actually being imported from the United States by Indian cotton mills.

In preaching and prophesying Swaraj in one year, Mr. Gandhi simply joined the ranks of those millennialists who have misjudged human nature and their times. The Last Judgment has been predicted many times, but the Lord has not seen fit yet to confide in any prophet the exact day or hour. Nor has the experiment of a general strike ever been successful. If I were a cynic, I should say that England's gifts to India are sanitation, education, irrigation, transportation, mediation, and that Gandhi like other "Young Indians" receives these gifts with irritation, agitation, disputation, and condemnation.

Shall we go so far then as to say that Mr. Gandhi is an extinct volcano, a spent rocket, politically and economically dead? The famous Congress of which he was the soul is apparently dead. Its two most constructive figures, Gandhi's late lieutenant, Mr. Jayakar, a very able lawyer of Bombay, and Pandit Molaviya, head of the Hindu university at Benares, seceded from the Congress in 1925 and organized the Responsive Cooperation group.

In December, 1926, the Congress went through at least the form of meeting, and the Mahatma attended it. His contribution was a vigorous speech opposing a resolution for Indian independence on the ground that India is lacking in discipline as a nation. During his twelve months of self-imposed abstinence from politics, Gandhi appears to have arrived at the conclusion that the day of his influence and power is gone, and that the country, including his own particular following, has drifted away from his theories for the political and economic salvation of India through non-cooperation with the Government and cultivation of the spinning wheel. The recent Indian elections show, with insignificant exceptions, a vigorous swing away from extremist nationalism and toward cooperation with the existing Government. The Swarajists have indeed become so unpopular that during the recent campaign they even changed their name to the "Congress Party." But Gandhi was not cast in a mold of compromise. His ideas are not the easy faith of the academic scholar

or politician; they are a religious creed hammered out on the anvil of his own feeble body. I am frank to say that I think he has failed, but he has failed with a magnificence unapproachable by the gorgeous pageantry of Akbar's court or a vice-regal Durbar.



Benares, holy Benares, for three thousand years the center of Indian religious life, provoked in us, I must confess, anything but a deep religious feeling. And for the same reasons which have inspired Indian liberal thinkers themselves to attempt to put their country's religious house in order. If any one is uncertain as to these reasons, let him read Mr. S. C. Mookerjee's fearful indictment in *The Decline and Fall of the Hindus*. No European would have dared to write so drastically. While his denunciation of Brahmanism is general, it necessarily falls heavily upon Benares by implication as the center of religious systems more or less controlled by a Brahmin priestly caste. When Aurangzeb conquered this city in the seventeenth century he destroyed thousands of Hindu temples and transformed one of the largest of them into a mosque, which still rears its disturbing minaret above the banks of the Ganges and casts its mocking shadow over the bathers in those sacred waters. After a day or two at Benares I wondered why the Mohammedan conquerer did not make a clean job of it. Perhaps he did, and perhaps the

nlthier exhibitions of Hindu orthodoxy have grown up again just as brushwood springs up after a forest fire. In any event it was a distinct relief to get away from the fetid, superstitious air of Benares to the cool, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral atmosphere of Bolpur where Rabindranath Tagore maintains his famous school, Santiniketan.

Here was a totally different phase of Indian life. For Tagore, the poet, the aesthete, the philosopher, is a finished man of the world in spite of himself. He is an aristocrat of princely lineage, a patriot, and a man of peace. Indeed the name Santiniketan means "abode of peace," an international school for the teaching of tolerance and good will. Perhaps for that very reason Tagore fears and deplures western materialism. In a recent interview just before his departure from Rome, he said: "I am not really competent to judge what the Italian people think and wish. I hope they will realize that the mere pursuit of material wealth will never make them great. They will be a great world-power only when they give the world permanent gifts of the spirit. Otherwise national prosperity and political power die with them."

But is the "enchanted Psalmist" of India saying anything new? Is not this the highest essence of Christian teaching? Is it not the core of western philosophy from Plato to Berkeley, from Hegel to Emerson and Royce?

Here I must break in with a caveat, for even saints and poets may err. I admit that the West is materialistic; I admit that we are right now at grips with materialism. But can you tell me of a time or place in the world's history when men were not materialistic? Materialism is not a matter of geography. After a few months of the Orient one becomes fed up with the materialistic side of religion: Buddha's tooth, a hair of Mohammed's beard, St. Francis Xavier's arm, Hindu phallic worship, and the like. But more than that, India is appallingly materialistic in other ways. The reckless overpopulating, cow worship, jewelry display, are symbolic of minds that revel in an idolatrous materialism which no apologetics of the Swamis can cover up. Many Indian critics of western materialism fail to recognize that part of their criticism is unconscious jealousy, and that the lack of material goods may produce a type of materialism even more soul-destroying than material abundance. Mere fatalistic resignation to poverty is no sign of exalted spirituality. It is the simplicity of choice, not of ignorance, which really counts.

Tagore yields to no one in his ardent patriotism, not even to the Mahatma himself. But his patriotism works in a different way. He is a moderate nationalist. In a letter published in 1919, he said: "The bulk of the English people can ever be in a normal state of mind with regard to us, our situation being

unnatural, and I am impelled to think that it is best for us to do our own work quietly in our own surroundings." And he does work quietly and, in my estimation, more solidly, more constructively, more enduringly, than all the noisy exponents of Swaraj. He condemned Gandhi's non-cooperation as perverted nationalism which was making India a prison. He refuses to spin, thinks it a waste of time, and tries to rehabilitate Indian village life by developing a variety of Indian industries, i.e., by improving *material* conditions.

He has given the answer to Gandhi's question, what to do with the farmers who are compelled to idleness seven months of the year. Why should they or their land be idle, says Tagore, why content themselves with one crop? His farm school is showing farmers how to grow three crops a year instead of one. Thus they can farm instead of spin away their idleness. That is how Tagore has met the Indian peasants (and 80 to 90 per cent of India's millions are agriculturists) on their own ground. He is teaching them how to improve their own craft, to become more efficient on their own job, instead of asking them to take up something entirely different. The majority of men are land-hungry; they would rather work and play with their land than engage in any other occupation. Here, I believe, Tagore is almost preternaturally shrewd. After all he is open-minded and knows and desires the best in western civiliza-

tion. His own son, whom I knew as a student in agriculture at the University of Illinois, is director of the agricultural experiment station at Santiniketan. His son-in-law, Gangooly, is also a trained agriculturist. They see the salvation of India not in boycotting the West but in utilizing western ideas for self-help. The Poet said to me with a very humble, deprecating air: "Mr. Todd, I can make poetry and perhaps think logically, but I can do nothing with my hands; I am helpless; I have no manual ability. You in America have so much of it. We need it and we are entitled to it. Help us to get it."

Through quiet education the Tagores are deliberately making a tremendous breach in the social and religious crust of India. You will recall that the Tagore family was one of the founders of the Brahmo-Somaj movement, which is purifying Indian religion somewhat along the line of western Unitarianism. Tagore's son married a widow and thus broke caste. The whole family has traveled extensively, again breaking caste. A more fundamental smashing of the caste tradition is the emphasis laid upon manual labor for every student at the school. All must wait upon themselves. I asked the younger Tagore what they did to overcome the Indian youth's dislike of manual work. He replied that the first initiatory test which every apprentice at the farm school must pass through determined that, once for all. This drastic, almost life or death test is the requirement

that every student shall dispose of his own night soil and actually trench it. This at once places him in the outcaste group; it allies him definitely, so far as traditional religion is concerned, with the fifty million outcasts, untouchables, for whom Mr. Gandhi preaches fellowship and tolerance. The Tagores, you see, are something more than teachers and prophets. They show up the nothingness of the caste system by this initiatory rite even more thoroughly than Gandhi did by adopting an outcaste child and embracing the cult of poverty.

This Rubicon once crossed, the rest of Tagore's educational system is easily enough embraced. Hence you are not surprised to find in it co-education, a modified Dalton plan, animal husbandry, and even tanning. To me the greatest revelation of the tradition-breaking spirit of the school was the sight of a young Buddhist priest from Burma, displaying with the pride of an enthusiast the various hides and skins which he had tanned with his own hands. Anticipating my surprised questionings, he said, "The young people in my country need to learn to work with their hands."

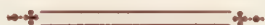
This is the spirit of the Tagore experiment. It is all an emanation of his own beautiful, gracious personality. I had seen him repeatedly when he was in America in 1913, had heard the lectures which became his first volume of English prose, and had listened to him at close range in my own house; but

never had I realized his grace, dignity, and beauty, as I did when he greeted us at Bolpur. He remembered, much to my surprise, our previous meetings and talked at length of his stay in Illinois. He spoke especially of liking our cold winters and our beautiful western towns. In spite of having just lost his oldest brother, the philosopher, he seemed serene and poised. One afternoon we listened in as he talked in Bengali to the small boys and girls of the school. His language was simple and musical, his manner lovable and smiling. The children broke out repeatedly into spontaneous laughter at his witty sallies. After the little discourse they trooped around him and followed him like the Pied Piper. Some even bolted through the windows to get close to him.

No poseur could evoke this sincere devotion. In his own surroundings at Bolpur the Poet appears absolutely simple, charming, benign, and wise; no affectation, no trafficking for notoriety, but the epitome of beauty and grace. That spirit pervades the entire school and accounts for its success. Indeed, I can account for it in no other way, for the physical aspect of the plant is not imposing. The buildings are low and scattered amongst a few mango trees on an arid plain. The country surrounding it is forbidding. If Tagore's methods can overcome these natural handicaps, they bear within them fertile seeds for India's salvation. The secret is the ideal of

noblesse oblige, self-help, lack of compulsion, the play spirit, self-government, nobility married to the ideal of work, discipline, and science.

Tagore's school is limited in numbers and limited by financial needs, but I am convinced that it will yield constructive leadership for India far outdistancing anything so far produced by extremist Swaraj methods. The Tagore family has already rendered two signal services to India: through Rabindranath's songs — over two thousand of them, his poetry, and his prose, much of it printed at Santiniketan on a press given him by the city of Detroit, he has recreated the Bengali tongue almost as Dante did Italian, and has made it the happiest literary medium in India. Other members of the family have accomplished the renaissance of Indian art through their own painting, teaching art, collecting art, and publishing a very distinguished art magazine. Perhaps the poet turned pedagogue at forty may be doing the greatest work of all, for he who solves India's problem of caste and of agriculture, creates a really valid national consciousness, and liberates her women, saves India not from the English or from the Japanese or from the Afghan, but from herself.



A third aspect of Indian life and aspiration is summarized in the life and work of Sir J. C. Bose. We

had letters of introduction to him from America but were taken in tow by one of his Calcutta friends. He received us cordially, especially when we explained we were from Hull House and friends of Jane Addams. Though he said frankly that his many visitors ate up a lot of his time, he took us about personally through his great experimental Institute, explained to us his delicate apparatus, and permitted us to observe some of the famous experiments in process. Even while explaining that he must turn us over to an assistant, he persisted in trotting about, showing the acoustics of his pet auditorium, and admitting responsibility for architectural design and decoration. He simply could not keep away, for even after taking final leave of us, he darted back to show something more.

Bose is a brisk little man, midway in height between Gandhi and Tagore, exquisitely neat, energetic, aesthetic. Of the Three Wise Men, he alone, I should say, is a real genius as we understand the word in the West. Along with a mastery of exact science he is something of an architect, engineer, electrician, sculptor, decorator, art connoisseur. His reception room is beautifully decorated with frescoes; in his auditorium he displayed with great pride mural decorations and the bronze bas-relief which he had designed. As Gandhi suggests Luther and Tagore, Dante, Bose recalls Leonardo. Like both Gandhi

and Tagore, Bose is an ardent man of peace. He fears the West, particularly America, not because of our materialism but because of our terrific pace, which exhausts the eastern visitor. I say not because of our materialism, for Bose is in a sense the prince of materialists, as we shall see.

Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose was born in 1858 in a village west of Dacca, Bengali of the Bengali. His father was a government official, a deputy magistrate, vigorous and active in his work, but unsuccessful as an investor. The boy was educated in a native school, then at St. Xavier's School in Calcutta. From the remarkable professor of physics at St. Xavier's he got his great impulse toward natural science. The family misfortunes led him to turn his attention toward a place in the Indian Civil Service. But his father vetoed that career, preferring that his son should be one of the people rather than follow in his steps as an official. He was willing to see him a scholar or turn his scientific aptitudes to the benefit of Indian agriculture. Young Bose, however, looked toward medicine and cherished the hope of studying in England. But the cost was prohibitive because of the family's financial reverses; moreover his mother, a true Indian, dreaded the separation, his contact with the strange western world, and the terrifying sea voyage. But she finally rose to the occasion and not only urged him to go but offered to sell her own

jewels. Then the father decided that by practicing even stricter economy, the boy could go even without his mother's sacrifice.

So off he started even though ill. After a year of anatomy and other medical studies in London, he gave up medicine and went to Cambridge on a natural science scholarship. Cambridge was in its heyday with Rayleigh and other great teachers — the Cambridge which Michael Pupin describes. He got the same stimulus and a good degree; then armed with strong letters to the Viceroy and other high-ups, he returned to India. After many discouragements he finally received appointment as Professor of Physics at Presidency College, Calcutta, a post which he held for twenty years, and from which he retired as Emeritus in 1915 to build up his great institute of research. During that time he had to fight his way against prejudice, against appointing any but whites to higher university posts, against departmental prerogatives and jealousies, against skepticism and hostility of biologists who hated to have their field invaded by a physicist.

His first great discoveries were in the same field of electricity which have made the names of Maxwell, Hertz, Marconi, and Pupin famous. In a sense he is the child of Sanskrit learning and English physics; in any event, a real, practicing idealist, for he paid off his father's debts and refused to patent any of his discoveries in radio-activity and electricity. Be-

cause of his distinguished work and the discriminating friendship of high Indian government officials, he was frequently sent to Europe to study and demonstrate his discoveries, in 1898, in 1900, again in 1907 to England and America, a fourth time in 1914. On his own account and in the interests of definite proof and demonstration of the importance of modern India's contribution to science, he made a fifth trip to Europe in 1919, and was just leaving for his last triumphal trip when we visited him.

He is not an orthodox Hindu and does not recognize caste, but is treated as having all the rights of the Brahmin because of his great learning; that is, he is recognized as a *sadhu*, a man devoted to the contemplative and religious life whether as hermit or wanderer.

His work may be called the physics of physiology, for he considers plants to be machines; in another sense it is the physiology of physics for he applies to non-living substances the same tests as to living, and claims to find continuity. As far back as 1900 he was working out tests in electro-motive variation, which included the effects of fatigue and of stimulating, depressing, and poisoning drugs; he discovered that apparently living and non-living gave similar responses. Application of narcotics and poisons produced response curves in metals startlingly similar to those in plants and animals. There is no physiological impulse, he says, given by the most highly organ-

ized animal tissue that is not also to be met with in the plant. By means of electrical responses he found that not so-called "sensitive plants" alone but every plant and every organ of the plant is excitable.

Specifically he discovered that plants register fatigue, that carbonic acid causes depression, that alcohol causes temporary exaltation followed by depression and a protracted period of recovery, that ether causes relaxation and temporary depression, and that electrical and mechanical responses diminish under the influence of cold. Not only horse-chestnut-tree leaves and other common plants responded to his tests, but even the humble carrot and turnip registered their sensitivity; that is, plants were highly sensitive in their very roots. Indeed, if asked, "Are plants sensitive?" he would reply, "Probably more sensitive than human beings, perhaps three to four times as sensitive." According to popular science, he says, "what is death to the animal is supposed to be life for the plant; for does it not flourish in the deadly atmosphere of carbonic acid gas? But instead of flourishing, the plant gets suffocated just like a human being. . . . Only in the presence of sunlight is the effect modified by photo-synthesis. The plant is intensely susceptible to the impurities present in the air. The vitiated air of the town has a very depressing effect." Moreover he finds that plants are extraordinarily sensitive to changes of light or darkness. Likewise severe shock sometimes renews growth that

had remained arrested. Hence his conclusion that the plant is not a mere mass of vegetable growth, but that every fibre is instinct with sensibility, answering to outside stimuli. Moreover since in many ways the life reactions of plant and man are alike, through the experience of the plant it may be possible to alleviate the sufferings of man.

A long series of experiments extended and established this kinship between plants and animals and even minerals. Consequently in his Royal Institute discourse outlining these results in May, 1921, Bose boldly asks: "Among such phenomena how can we draw a line of demarcation and say, 'Here the physical ends and there the physiological begins?' Such absolute barriers do not exist; the dividing frontiers between physics, physiology, and psychology have disappeared." This, his basic theory, marks him as a true traditional Hindu, for it is derived from the Rig Veda, viz., "The real is one: wise men call it variously."

It is evident that this philosophy identifies Bose, not only with his Indian forebears but also with those western philosophers who teach some phase of realism or hylozoism, by which matter and mind appear simply as two manifestations of some energy or activity still more fundamental. But what about the effect of this scientist's teaching upon his own country? He has already pointed out overtly that the similar irritability of plants and animals is highly

significant to the theory of evolution. But after all very few of India's three hundred and fifteen millions bother much about a theory of evolution.

He came much nearer to puncturing the crust of Indian beliefs and superstitions by his researches on the so-called "praying palm." He had already worked out some pretty definite conclusions on the movement of sleep and awakening in normal plants and animals as result of sensitivity to heat and cold, when by good fortune he was enabled to carry further his experiments through the famous date palm tree near Faridpur in Bengal. In the evening while the temple bells rang, calling the people to prayer, this tree bowed down as if to prostrate itself. It erected itself again in the morning, and this process was repeated every day of the year. Such action naturally was regarded as miraculous and attracted many pilgrims; offerings were made to it, and marvelous cures recorded. It was a good-sized date palm, which must have been displaced by some storm and have become inclined about 60 degrees. The movements amounted to about one meter each way, but the leaves seemed to move in a sweep of several meters. It was difficult to secure permission to attach measuring instruments to the tree; but the son of a priest was allowed to do it. The results showed that the tree followed closely the daily rise and nightly fall of temperature, and did not follow even as closely as did another palm of the same species growing

in Bose's garden in Calcutta. Further experiments enabled Bose to show that movements similar to that of the palm tree occur in all trees and their branches and leaves, caused by joint effects of geotropism and temperature.

I can not help feeling that destructive as was this slash at superstition, the most subtle but most devastating of this great scientist's results is the indirect attack on the cow cult. It may be that the Hindus got their animal-food taboo from the Egyptians; or they may have worked it out for themselves as the result of unconscious dietary experiment in a tropical climate, or they may have fastened it upon themselves through translating an injunction to take care of cows (as their agricultural population's best friends) into a real worship of the cow and a prohibition against killing her or eating or utilizing any part of the carcass. At any rate the vast majority of Indians are vegetarian, and this not on sanitary or physiological grounds but by religious conviction. Now if I will not "eat cow" because I believe it is sinful to take life, what shall I do when I find that plants register the same sensations and emotions as human beings or other animals?

Sir Patrick Geddes in his biography narrates some effects even upon Europeans of Bose's exposition of his researches in London in 1914. "Among the men of letters came Mr. Balfour, who at once saw the psychological importance of the discoveries. Mr.

Bernard Shaw, being a vegetarian, was unhappy to find that a piece of cabbage was thrown into violent convulsion when scalded to death. Editors of leading journals also came, and the following departure from the usual gravity of the *Nation* will indicate the popular impression made by the new revelations of plant life: 'In a room near Maida Vale there is an unfortunate carrot strapped to the table of an unlicensed vivisector. Wires pass through two glass tubes full of white substance; they are like two legs whose feet are buried in the flesh of the carrot. When the vegetable is pinched with a pair of forceps, it winces. It is so strapped that its electric shudder of pain pulls the long arm of a very delicate lever which actuates a tiny mirror. . . . Thus can science reveal the feelings of even so stolid a vegetable as the carrot'."

I hardly need labor the results of spreading such facts!

Here then are India's Three Wise Men, working each in his own way to save India by teaching India self-help, by breaking the crust of caste, by lifting up the untouchables, by developing self-respect in literature, art, industry, science, and government. Gandhi, the Mahatma, great soul and apostle, ascetic politician and mystical economist, attacks traditional religion and the social system by espousing the untouchables; he preaches religious tolerance, urges love to the Mohammedan, but is conservative on

"cow." He preaches, and unsuccessfully, a boycott on western industry and politics. He fails as a man of the world but succeeds majestically as a man of the spirit.

Tagore, the poet turned schoolmaster, aesthete but practical economist, re-creates language, religion, and art: sets an example for breaking caste through reforming religion, rehabilitating the widow, and exalting the idea of manual labor.

Bose answers the charge that Indians are not capable of exact science, by being a pioneer in the field of radio-activity and by being in the very front rank of the world's greatest experimental monists. In the teachings of this bustling little man there is enough dynamite to blow off the whole crust of India, even though it is three thousand years thick.

Of these Three Wise Men, Gandhi has occupied more newspaper space and in spite of himself has produced more clangor in the world, but in my judgment will have less effect upon the future welfare and destiny of India than the gentle poet who received the Nobel Prize for literary achievement, or the scientific genius who extends our kinship beyond cows and carrots to the stars.

II.

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY ON THE
ORIENT



THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY ON THE ORIENT

THE social scientist, dealing as he must with human material in the mass, is deprived of the easy, direct laboratory technique of the physical sciences. He must depend mainly upon history and statistics for his larger categories of fact; but these can be checked and interpreted by intensive observational survey. The worker in the fields of sociology, economics, and politics is therefore constantly on the alert for opportunities to observe social or historical phenomena in their beginnings or in simplified forms. It is partly for this reason that he is so vitally interested in the Orient and particularly in those parts of the Orient which are experiencing the first impact of modern industrialism. Japan, China, and India represent, so to speak, moving-picture sections of the drama of the Industrial Revolution as it was played upon the stage of Europe and America during the nineteenth century.

Of these three countries Japan presents the most thorough-going approach to modern industrialism. To the question: What does the Orient think of modern industry? Japan would probably reply: "It is here," and accept it as a matter of course. China

in all probability would answer: "It is inevitable and to be welcomed. China may be the future industrial center of the world, but the movement should be controlled by Chinese for Chinese." India would probably admit: "It is inevitable, in spite of Mr. Gandhi and the attempted boycott on western commerce, industry, and economic imperialism." While to India modern large-scale industry is only an incident and confined to a few centers like Bombay, Madras, or Cawnpore, and while in China it centers largely in the international settlements and along the fringe of sea board cities, to Japan it has become an increasingly vital aspect of the whole nation.

Japan is poor in natural resources. Her only first-rate raw material is silk. Her iron ore is limited in quantity and poor in quality. Coal is low grade, expensive to mine, and for the most part rather remote from industrial centers. Copper exists, but not in sufficient quantities for industrial needs. Lumber is plentiful but not equal in quality to imports from Canada and the United States. Even in the matter of food supply Japan is handicapped. She has practically reached her limits of agricultural self-support. Only about one-fourth of the area of the Empire is arable land, and the present area of cultivated land is open to little extension. Farms on the main islands are but little more than intensively hand-worked market gardens. In spite of the assidu-

ous labor of a traditionally industrious people, Japan cannot feed herself. In 1926 she imported over 350,000,000 yen worth of foodstuffs and in the year 1927 must probably buy about 30,000,000 bushels of rice from abroad. Japan is now feeding about 60,000,000 persons, that is, about double the number of mouths half a century ago. Economists and agricultural experts are urging the planting of chestnuts and potatoes and other crops to eke out an insufficient rice supply.

But the Japanese have become increasingly aware that their destiny is industrial, and that poverty of natural resources, and especially inability to grow sufficient food, must be compensated by industrial skill and export ability. Hence the visitor to Japan need scarcely be surprised at the almost feverish haste to achieve this equipment for industrial production, finance, international trade, and merchant marine.

Within a generation Japan has taken on most of the stigmata of modern industrialism: docks, warehouses, a highly developed and efficient railroad system; a postal administration that in some centers like Tokyo makes as many as six deliveries a day; telephone, radio, automobiles, large-scale advertising, and the like. In landing at Kobe and running along the shore in a swift interurban electric car to Osaka and Sakai, the traveler does not sense that he

is in the Orient, but seems to find himself plunged once more into Birmingham or Manchester or Chicago. Indeed Osaka feels like Chicago and Pittsburgh rolled into one. The pall of smoke, the thronged streets, the housing congestion, and the noise are reminiscent, all too reminiscent, of certain features of industrialism which one would like to forget. Still more unpleasant are the slums resulting from the rapid rush to industrial cities, just as English manufacturing towns were crowded a hundred years ago. Kobe enjoys the unenviable distinction of having perhaps the worst slum in the world today.

While Japan is still predominantly an agricultural country (for roughly speaking 70 per cent of the population live and work in rural territory), yet the movement of population has unmistakably started torrentially in the other direction, particularly in cer-

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES IN
JAPAN

Date	Below 10,000	10,000- 20,000	20,000- 50,000	50,000- 100,000	Over 100,000
1898	82.3%	4.4%	3.9%	1.7%	7.7%
1903	79.3	5.1	4.21	2.2	9.2
1908	75.1	6.9	4.7	2.6	10.7
1913	72.4	8.2	5.3	3.3	10.8
1918	68.1	8.7	6.7	3.9	12.6
1920	67.8	9.1	7.3	3.7	12.1
1925	63.4	8.8	7.4	5.8	14.6

GROWTH OF POPULATION IN CITIES

City	1925	1913	1903	1895
Osaka	2,114,804	1,395,823	995,545	487,184
Tokyo	1,995,564	2,050,126	1,818,655	1,268,930
Nagoya	768,558	452,043	288,639	215,083
Kyoto	679,963	509,380	380,568	340,101
Kobe	644,212	442,167	285,002	161,130
Yokohama	405,888	397,574	326,036	170,252
Hiroshima	195,731	167,130	121,196	100,015
Nagasaki	189,071	161,174	153,293	72,301
Hakodate	163,972	99,795	85,313	50,314
Sapporo	145,065	96,924	55,304	46,147

tain localities. From 1898 to 1925 the proportion of the total population living in cities of over 100,000 nearly doubled, while the proportion in cities from 50,000 to 100,000 more than trebled. During that same period the population in smaller towns and rural districts dropped from 82.3 per cent to 63.4 per cent of the total.

In thirty years cities like Osaka and Kobe quadrupled in size; Nagoya, Yokohama, Sapporo, trebled; other old centers like Kyoto and Hiroshima doubled in size.

The factory system has reached its largest proportions in the territories centering about Osaka and Tokyo but is spreading in every direction. In less than thirty years the number of factories in Japan increased sixfold with a fourfold increase in the num-

ber of workers employed. In 1883 there were only about a hundred and twenty-five modern factories in the whole of Japan, and these were comparatively small, for they employed only about 25,000 workers. At present there are over 30,000 modern factories, employing over 2,000,000 workers; that is, about 12 to 15 per cent of the total number of workers reported by Japanese official statistics. One-half of these workers are female and a very considerable number are children, particularly in silk filatures, cotton factories, and in the smaller confectionery, match-making, knitted-wear, and printing trades. In the city of Tokyo in 1922 there were 137,733 women workers, constituting 13.71 per cent of the total female population of Tokyo. Of these workers 16.4 per cent were married.

An interesting sidelight on what represents probably a growth in the heavier types of basic industry, such as the metal trades and shipbuilding, is shown by the declining ratio of women to men workers. From 1896 to 1924 the proportion of women declined from nearly two-thirds of the total to slightly over one-half, although during the same period the actual number of women employed increased four-fold. Seventeen per cent of these women factory workers were married; just the reverse situation was found in the mines, where in 1924 eighty per cent of the women were married.

NUMBER OF OPERATIVES EMPLOYED IN JAPANESE INDUSTRY

Year	No. of Factories	Total No.	Male	Female	% of Females
1896	7,640	434,832	173,614	261,218	59.5
1900	7,284	422,019	164,712	257,307	60.0
1905	9,776	587,851	240,288	347,563	59.1
1910	13,523	717,161	274,587	442,574	61.7
1915	16,809	910,799	350,976	559,823	61.4
1917	20,966	1,280,964	567,844	713,120	55.6
1920	45,806	1,486,442	700,124	786,318	53.0
1921	49,380	1,686,353	798,838	887,515	53.7
1922	46,427	1,691,019	834,314	856,705	50.7
1923	47,786	1,765,133	838,197	926,936	52.5
1924	48,394	1,789,618	859,783	929,835	52.0

Japanese employers run about the same as their prototypes in other countries. You find both fat and lean. Some are charged with being exploiters and grinding the faces of the poor. Some undoubtedly have abused woman and child labor. While the Japanese level of wages and standard of living is the highest in the Orient, it can hardly be said to be munificent. In 1925 the average daily wage of a male laborer was 1 yen 95 sen, a little over 89 cents in American money; for a female laborer less than 1 yen, that is, somewhere in the neighborhood of 46 cents. For mine workers the male average was 1 yen 79 sen, for female workers 1 yen 22 sen.

Never elsewhere have I seen such avidity for information on anything pertaining to scientific management. My host and mentor during my stay in Japan is the head of the Taylor Society. He had

studied scientific management intensively in the United States and in Europe, including our methods in the Chicago men's clothing industry. I visited several industrial plants of his clients. From the standpoint of organization they are the last word in scientific management, but their proprietors were by no means satisfied. Any exponent of western industry was welcome if he had the slightest suggestion to contribute to the improvement of their management technique.

Along with the ordinary factory administration goes in many instances some very broadly conceived systems of welfare work. Many plants have special welfare supervisors or superintendents and an almost bewildering lay-out of medical, dental, and other forms of employees' service. The dormitories, particularly for young women, maintained by some of the large factories may be expedient as temporary measures for attracting and providing for rural workers, but they are makeshifts at best and can never take the place of properly conceived, urban housing plans.

Many employers are deeply concerned over the problem of unemployment. I still remember vividly being kept up until the small hours of the morning by a great manufacturer of Osaka, who was chairman of the Unemployment Committee of the Chamber of Commerce; he quizzed me for hours through two interpreters until he had squeezed out of me the

last ounce of information on how we in the West handle the unemployed. We went over the whole range from charity woodyards and spacing of public building enterprises over slack seasons down to the experiment in unemployment insurance conducted in the men's clothing industry and the great national unemployment-insurance plan in England. The Orient can at least profit by our sad experience in the West with seasonal employment, and perhaps mitigate this sore spot rubbed by the industrial harness.

A most striking chapter in Japan's industrial history is her conservation policy. The Japanese natural water-power supply is not very extensive, but by proper forestation, impounding, and other means, Japan has been able to take advantage in the fullest degree of her mountainous topography. Consequently wherever the traveler goes he is accompanied by great striding lines of hydro-electric transmission poles. These armies of peace as they go marching through the landscape give surest evidence of the Japanese conviction of an industrial destiny.

Another significant straw is the fear of immigration. It was a surprise to learn, for example, that there are more Koreans entering Japan than there are Japanese migrating to Korea; this in spite of the opportunities for colonization in that conquered territory. The lower standard of living and wages of the Koreans seriously threatens the Japanese stand-

ard of living. The same thing is true of the Chinese laborers who smuggle their way in. For that reason Japanese newspapers bear witness to a growing attitude on the part of Japanese labor toward their oriental brothers not unlike that of California labor toward oriental immigrants for the past half-century. Indeed while I strongly resent the unnecessary affront which Congress gave to Japan in the Immigration Law of 1923, yet it does appear that Japanese labor and American labor are in a way to speak the same language and to register a sympathetic understanding on account of their common attempt to protect their hard-won, superior standards of living from being undermined by coolie immigration. For example, an editorial in the *Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, June 12, 1926, describes the increasing seriousness of the labor problem in Japan resulting from the flood of Korean coolie labor which has swept into the country in recent years. A realization of the necessity of making an attempt to meet the problem is shown, according to the article, in a recent decision of the Ministry of Finance to advance half a million yen at a low rate of interest for the construction of cheap houses for the thousands of homeless Korean laborers.

Although the influx of Koreans is of sufficient magnitude to amount practically to a migration, the Government had not been able to formulate any plan for checking the movement which would be effective

and at the same time could be considered legitimate and justified, as Korea is an integral part of Japan and any discrimination against Koreans or restriction of their movements would arouse resentment among them.

Although the unemployment situation is not yet acute, the growing number of Korean laborers is intensifying an undesirable condition. Korean day laborers can live more cheaply than the Japanese and will work for less money, so that the situation in Japan duplicates that in the United States, where Japanese labor has been in conflict with the higher living standards of American workingmen. In fact, the writer says, "More than one Japanese observer has recently remarked that the Korean labor situation in Japan has brought to him an understanding of and sympathy for the American attitude toward immigrant labor."

Korean laborers in Japan are largely engaged in the heavier and rougher forms of labor, such as road-making, railway-building, and the hauling of the little man-power carts which form such an important part in the transportation of goods throughout the country. The great improvement in the standard of living of the Japanese during the past decade has resulted in an unwillingness on their part to perform the harder and more menial tasks, so that as long as they can find employment in other lines of work, they are perfectly willing to let the Koreans

supplant them at this class of labor. The Koreans live in huts and rude shanties and can subsist on food so coarse that the ordinary Japanese will not touch it.

The article states that, according to the most reliable reports, there are about 133,700 Koreans now in Japan, of whom only about 23,500 are women, a fact giving rise to grave moral problems. Only about a fourth of the entire number have permanent or near-permanent homes, about 64,000 work for a few months in a locality, while the remainder tramp from town to town, working at odd jobs and often sleeping out-of-doors. Such of these as obtain work in labor gangs on road or railroad work are housed in the flimsiest of shanties, living practically the life of campers. A low-interest loan for the construction of permanent dwelling houses or tenements is planned by the Ministry of Finance to take care of this class of homeless wanderers. The houses, which will rent for about 15 yen per family per month, will be built in the principal industrial sections around Kobe, Osaka, and Tokyo.

The most serious part of the situation is the racial prejudice against the Koreans, evidenced by the Japanese. The writer of the article believes that throughout Asia, in fact, there is a greater degree of racial prejudice among the different peoples than exists between westerners and orientals. Frequent clashes which occur between Korean and Japanese

workmen are due, therefore, to both racial prejudice and economic competition, and any solution of the problem which is attempted must take both these factors into consideration.

Until recently Japanese labor was not sufficiently articulate to carry through legislation for protecting the worker and improving factory conditions. Sporadic strikes have occurred, some of terrible intensity and involving as high as 40,000 workers; a movement for workers' education has taken root, and labor organization is progressing rapidly. As a matter of fact, the Japanese labor movement displays some interesting parallels to its American prototype. It is different in that it includes a farmers' union. As in the United States, the miners', seamen's, printers', and metal workers' unions are the most influential. While the total membership of organized labor in Japan is only approximately 200,000 — about 10 per cent of the total industrial workers — these unions have been grouped into a series of competing federations. The General Federation of Labor is little more than a name, for its membership is only about 10 per cent of the total and is only one of nine separate federations including 110 affiliated unions. The unions are torn also into two main groups on the subject of policy, one wing standing for strong centralization and the other for more local autonomy for the affiliated member unions. These dissensions have not entirely prevented labor solidarity,

for frequent strikes and effective ones have been engineered particularly during the restless period following the war.

In one point the Japanese labor movement is more akin to Europe than to America; that is, the mutual sympathy between Japanese intellectuals and labor. Some of these intellectual leaders suffered governmental repression and went to jail for their pains; others, like Kagawa, have maintained a mediatory ground and won wide hearing for their publications quite outside labor circles. Japanese students of their labor movement are often inclined to ascribe most of the success to this active sympathy. Matsumoto, for example, declares that "the rapid development was due principally to the activities of liberal-minded intellectuals, who organized unions, spread liberal and scientific views of social problems, roused interest in the study of the social sciences, and agitated for the freedom of thought and speech. A few veterans in radical leadership, reinforced by groups of young college graduates, carried out this mission so successfully that the public was persuaded of the necessity for social reforms, and the 'metaphysical theory of state,' which had long been the stronghold of Japanese nationalism, gave way to the new 'functional theory of state.' The significance of their achievements becomes amusingly evident if we compare the year 1910, when a convicted thief hanged himself in prison for being called a 'Socialist,' with the year

1924, when a professed Socialist was appointed dean of the school of economics at Kyoto Imperial University."

In 1925 labor entered more definitely into politics and organized somewhat after the model of the British Labor Party. As a response to the events and tendencies which led to the extension of labor organization and of labor's political activity, the Government in 1926 put into effect the most important measure on behalf of labor in Japanese industrial history.

The Japanese factory act of 1926 is a revision and enlargement of the act of 1916, which was the first attempt in Japan to meet the demands of labor for better treatment. Although it was passed by the Diet in March, 1923, enforcement of this law was deferred until July 1, 1926, because of the special conditions arising from the earthquake disaster of Sept. 1, 1923. This revised law is applicable in general to industrial establishments in which 1000 or more persons are employed and, irrespective of the number of workers, to about 60 classes of establishments engaged in work regarded as hazardous. An imperial ordinance, dated June 5, 1926, prescribes the terms of enforcement.

By the terms of this order, industries making certain kinds of food, articles manufactured from bamboo, straw, and paper, wearing apparel, and embroideries and laces made by hand are exempted from

the provisions of the law, provided no mechanically driven machinery is used. While the previous act scheduled only 20 classes of industries as being dangerous or unhealthy, the new act adds 40 branches to the list, and it is estimated that the extension of the scope of the law will bring an additional 20,000 factories and 150,000 workers under its operation.

Compensation for sickness or accident incurred by a worker in the course of his employment must be paid by the employer unless it can be shown to the satisfaction of the prefectural governor that the injury or disease was the fault of the employee in question; other forms of compensation such as medical fees, allowances to survivors, funeral expenses, and lump-sum settlements must be paid in all cases.

In case of permanent disability the payments amount to a minimum of 540 days' pay when freedom of movement is entirely lost, 360 days' wages in case of permanent incapacity for work, 180 days' wages in case of inability to carry on the former work, and 40 days' wages if there is other disability. In case of temporary disability the worker is entitled to 60 per cent of the daily wage for 180 days and 40 per cent thereafter. In case of the death of a worker, the employer is required to pay a sum equivalent to not less than 360 days' wages to the wife or husband or others who were dependent on the worker's earnings for support, and funeral expenses amounting to 20 days' wages with a minimum of 20 yen.

These payments must be made without delay after the death of the worker. With the consent of the local governor, however, payments for either injury or illness, and the aid to the family of a deceased worker, may be made in several installments.

In the cases of female workers or minors or workers receiving compensation who are discharged without cause, the employer is required to pay the transportation of such workers to their homes if they leave within 15 days from the date of discharge. In case of discharge an employer is required to give the worker 14 days notice or, in lieu of that, 14 days' pay, except where workers are temporarily employed.

Suitable provision must be made for the health and safety of women and minors. The law requires employers in all factories in which more than 50 workers are employed to draw up rules for the information of the workers relative to conditions of employment.

A law providing for the arbitration of labor disputes, enacted in April, 1926, also became effective on July 1. The law provides that administrative officers of the Government (local governors) may appoint arbitration commissions either upon request of parties to a labor dispute or whenever it is deemed advisable by the Government office concerned. The law applies to common carriers and other public utilities and to establishments concerned in the manufacture of munitions and the construction and repair of

vessels under the direction of the War and Navy Departments. Other industries may also have arbitration commissions appointed at the request of both parties to the dispute. The arbitration commissions are to be composed of nine persons, three each chosen by the parties to the dispute and three persons not directly concerned in the dispute who are chosen by mutual agreement of the two parties. If the arbitrators are not nominated within the specified period of three days, however, they will be appointed by the Government. The decision of the arbitration commission must be rendered within fifteen days of the date on which the commission is convened.

A plan of life insurance for the people of small means had been established by a law passed in 1916. Under this plan the insurance was carried by the Government, and the administrative work was done by the post offices. The amount of insurance was first limited to 200 yen; this was later raised to 250 yen, and by an act of March, 1926, was further increased to 450 yen.

A law providing for an elaborate scheme of national health insurance was passed in 1922 but never enforced. A new act passed in March, 1926, provided for the enforcement of this law beginning July 1, 1926, payment of benefits to begin January 1, 1927. It is estimated that more than 1,500,000 workers in 26,000 factories and approximately 322,000 miners in over 800 mines will be covered by this law. By

two acts, promulgated March 29, 1926, the Government provides for a contributory pension system. The maximum amount of pension is 2,400 yen, and the scheme is to be carried out through the machinery of the postoffices.

The significance of this brief review of recent industrial legislation lies in its apparent demonstration that mankind does not need to go round and round in its weary treadmill of mistakes. For in barely thirty years of industrial history Japan has reached a point in its protective legislation which required nearly a century in England and the United States. A great war and mutterings of revolution conspired to stir the dilatory West. If Japanese leaders use the same perception and alertness in handling certain other adverse stigmata of industrialism they will add still further testimony to the value of a century of social science, social reform agitation, social legislation and even "muck-raking" in the West; for Japan has evidently conned our routes with care and is heeding our warnings and signposts of danger.

Whether as an inevitable correlative of industrialism or economic imperialism or militarism, or whether as a mature conviction of its inherent wisdom, the Japanese in less than two generations have performed an educational miracle. In 1872, when the Code of Education, modeled on the French system, was promulgated, less than 30 per cent of the chil-

dren of legal school age (six to fourteen) were attending schools. By 1885, five years after the Educational Ordinance which caused effective enforcement of the system of compulsory education, the percentage had risen to nearly fifty. By 1900 the ratio had gone to nearly three-quarters. And since 1920 the ideal of a hundred per cent attendance has almost been attained. A bare half per cent are unaccounted for. If it be true, and the facts seem to point that way, that in spite of increasing emphasis upon machinery and routine, machine-tending industry calls for more and more education of the worker, the Japanese have taken a seven-league step along the path of their manifest industrial destiny. Universal literacy as a beneficent by-product of industry does not excuse slums and other noxious by-products but augurs their elimination.

Still another index of the rapid industrialization of Japan is the growing emphasis on scientific research. Many of the Japanese are in the habit of calling their countrymen imitators, not originators. If that be so they must be awarded the palm for careful and selective imitation. While it is obvious enough that they have copied school systems, police and military organization, production and financial methods, and even to a disconcerting degree graphic, architectural, and decorative arts, yet it must be admitted that in many instances they have improved on their borrowings. The dining-car service on a Jap-

anese railway is a triumphant example, and the magnificent policies of reforestation and water-power conservation furnish other admirable instances. But beyond this improvement upon borrowings the Japanese are seriously undertaking original research on their own account into various fields. They are internationally known already for their researches in medicine and radio. The field of industrial chemistry has also been exploited. I distinctly remember the elaborate layout and equipment of the experimental laboratories in the plant of the "Japanese Colgate," Mr. T. Nakayama at Osaka. To this self-made captain of industry efficient business is a religion, for he takes literally a Japanese version of the motto that "cleanliness is next to godliness." But he goes beyond that in the doctrine of beauty as a virtue. In the furtherance of these ends of godliness and of beauty his technical laboratories are a powerful ally. The same spirit appears in the endowment of a great institute of research by another Japanese captain of industry as the core of what has become within the last year the Imperial College of Commerce at Kobe.

To meet the increasing population pressure upon Japan's slender natural resources, she must appeal to either birth control or scientific research, perhaps both. But the chances are that the secular advance of industrialism itself as forwarded by applied science will give the working population of Japan such a further taste of the joys of a high standard of

living that a reduced birth rate and an adjustment of the traditional population *mores* will come about naturally without much necessity for appeal to definite birth-restriction propaganda. Birth-control teaching has been going on for several years in Japan. Government disapproval has somewhat hampered its extension. But the Government would be impotent in the face of a silent strike by the workers against an impoverishingly high birth rate when they once discover the secret of a family suitably balanced with the family income.

It has been customary to assume an increasing divorce rate as one of the stigmata of progressive industrialism, and the traditional argument for this correlation includes an increasing economic independence of women, their freedom to enter industry or professional life as an alternative to a career in marriage, the crowding into industrial cities of a floating population of unattached males and females, and a tendency to facile marriage and quick divorce. And to tell the truth, the experience of the West has tended to confirm these statistical assumptions. But the experience of Japan during the last twenty or thirty years is diametrically opposed to these conclusions. In spite of, and apparently correlated with, the rapid increase of industries the divorce rate in Japan has steadily dropped. From 1884 to 1925 the rate of divorce per hundred thousand population for the country as a whole dropped from 2.91 to 0.87; that

is, the rate was cut by two-thirds, a record unmatched, so far as I know, in any other part of the world. The only statistical figure at all comparable with it is the decrease in negro illiteracy in the United States during the same period.

Now while the divorce rate stands somewhat higher for urban areas than for Japan as a whole, yet curiously enough the rate is consistently lower in cities over 50,000 than in the smaller cities. The most conspicuous figures show that Osaka, the industrial and commercial capital of Japan, has next to the lowest divorce rate of twenty-five good-sized cities. Sakai, another large manufacturing city in the neighborhood of Osaka, stands lowest on the list. Yokohama and Kyoto, also great industrial centers, stand slightly above the bottom of the list. Tokyo, the capital, stands about midway; Kobe somewhat above the average. On the other hand old non-industrial centers like Nagoya, Hiroshima, and Niigata, soar high above the industrial cities on the score of divorce. Whatever the explanation of these facts, it can not be said that industrialism has had the effect of breaking up the Japanese family.

Japan is meeting, then, the impact of modern industry in ways peculiar to her own genius for imitation and assimilation of ideas. Compulsory education, technical research, scientific management, welfare work, and social legislation are making it possible to short-cut western experience. If our century

of muddling through can be thus utilized for social education, it will not have been in vain.



Perhaps no other country on earth presents such vivid industrial contrasts as China. Twenty years, reading of various prophecies of China's future as the industrial center of the world had not prepared me for them. As Japan represents a throw-back of economic history to the opening decades of the nineteenth century, so China reveals the economics of our Middle Ages; yet with this difference, if we may change the metaphor, that between those layers of stratified history certain volcanic intrusions have forced their way in. Those intrusions are occidental large-scale industrial enterprises and areas. Because of historical and geographic reasons these industrial centers group themselves largely along the coastal area and in the international settlements. As a matter of fact they have been largely responsible for creating great cities like Shanghai or Hankow.

As the little British steamer which brought us from Tientsin beat her way slowly up the Whangpoo to the landing stage at Shanghai, we passed miles of docks and factories; the pelting rain and the impenetrable pall of smoke recalled Chicago all too vividly for either travel-comfort or a complacent sense of the contributions of industry to human progress. Here was modernity with a vengeance. Yet

three hours away in Soochow we found a few days later a mediæval walled city with canals, streets so narrow that only rickshas or donkeys can negotiate them, and the handicrafts and guilds of Europe five centuries ago. Indeed one does not need to travel three hours to strike back into the centuries. Fifteen minutes walk from the Shanghai Bund, the great river-front esplanade with its imposing banks and other commercial centers, will land you into the native Chinese quarters where brasswork, mattresses, cloisonné, furniture, and other wares are being turned out by the ancient methods and under ancient conditions.

Soochow itself displays these contrasts. Inside the city all is handicraft. But just outside the walls is a steam-driven silk filature with several hundred hands — quite the type of mill which dotted Yorkshire and Lancashire or the New England valleys in our first stages of industrialism. It is just this spottiness and extreme contrast which prompted me to use the term “volcanic intrusion”; for there are few of the intermediate stages between small home-shop crafts and large-scale industry such as I observed twenty years ago in the lace and embroidery industry in the Austrian Tyrol and Eastern Switzerland. There every stage of evolution was represented from the single cottage-loom, through the village shop of half a dozen electric-driven looms to the large-scale manufactory of St. Gall. In Peking something of this series

has worked out in the rug industry during the last twenty years, but it is not general in China as a whole.

Spotty and uneven as modern industry appears in China, it has come with such speed and has acquired such momentum that in spite of all the political turmoil, the organized boycotts, the violence, the outbursts of anti-foreign sentiment, it has come to live in the "Inner Kingdom." In about two generations changes unprecedented in her previous four thousand years of history have taken on the character of a veritable revolution. And these changes are fundamentally economic rather than political or domestic. Among the contributing factors are to be reckoned the gradual opening up of the country to foreign trade, by whatever means this was accomplished; the gradual spread of western inventions and methods in education, industry, government, and social welfare; improvement, even slow as it has been, in the means of transport and communication; urgent demand from foreign markets during the Great War and perhaps the subsequent boycott against Japanese goods. Of course these forces have had to press against a wall of custom and tradition compared with which the marvelous Great Wall is but a bit of Hollywood papier-maché stage scenery. The lack of a real central government; absence of uniform laws, coinage, weights and measures; the gild system;

native ethnocentrism; local and provincial interests; all these barred the way.

On the other hand, the great adaptability of the Chinese people, their tradition of skill, their sturdiness, their thrift, industry, and numbers offered all but virgin soil for the industrial "developer." Hence we need not be surprised to learn that during the last twenty years the annual value of China's foreign trade has risen nearly 600 per cent. In spite of the civil war and the commotions since the overthrow of the monarchy and the setting up of the so-called Republic in 1911, many favorably located cities like Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, Wuchang, Wusih, Tsinan, Chefoo, Changsha, Tsingtao, Chengchow, and the territory immediately surrounding Tientsin have been steadily industrialized. Mr. M. T. Tchou, national industrial secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in China, who is a painter and a scholarly gentleman as well as a skilled observer and a mine of facts and understanding, estimates the number of modern factories at 1400, and this figure does not include many thousands of semi-modern plants. They range all the way from textile mills to cement, brick, soap, and candle works; but silk filatures and cotton spinning are the largest industries. There were, three years ago, over a million and a half cotton spindles producing three billion pounds of yarn per year. The bulk of this cotton industry is concentrated in a few

cities like Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, and Wuchang. Recently the province of Shantung has witnessed a significant development of the lace, embroidery, and hair-net trades, engaging several hundred thousand employees. The rug industry centers in Peking and Tientsin.

The unfavorable accompaniments of industrialism which we observed in certain Japanese centers like Kobe and Osaka have their counterpart to a degree in the Chinese rug industry. At least we can say that this industry illustrates certain phases of *laissez faire* economic history. For example, we find in it all gradations from the small shop to the large-scale factory. In Peking the majority of shops still run under twenty employees; a considerable number employ from a hundred to a hundred and fifty; only a very few run as high as three hundred. The capital invested is usually small; hence it is not at all unusual for skilled men, if they are laid off or discharged after serving their apprenticeship, to start a small shop or help some one else to start one. Of course this is not unknown in the West even after two centuries of large-scale trend in industrial organization: witness the so-called "social shops" which sprang up in the New York area of the men's clothing industry after the strike of 1920. But it was the characteristic mark of the earlier nineteenth century textile trades.

Again, the rug industry has experienced a rapid

development of foreign markets. Formerly the demand was purely local and the rugs were made largely in the home, just as in American colonial days rag carpets or braided rugs were produced. But the foreign demand, created originally by Germany and stimulated by the closing of the Near East as a rug source, increased suddenly during the war. Characteristically also this demand suffered severe fluctuations but settled to a fairly steady demand after 1922. Equally characteristic was the rush of producers to meet the sudden demand and the resultant lowering of quality of materials and standards of workmanship. This had much to do with the fluctuation in demand. In this connection, too, appeared the mark of high speculative profits, individualism, and "skinning the market." Significant also, the fact that these abnormal profits were not shared by the workers. Other stigmata of early industrialism include exploitation of child labor and apprentices; the break-up of the old guild system; long hours, wretched shop and working conditions, dark, overcrowded, dirty, poorly ventilated quarters, low wages. So bad were — and to an unpleasant degree still are — conditions in this industry that one of my American friends said she never wanted to walk on a Chinese rug again after reading Chu and Blaisdell's *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys*.

But is this typical? What do Chinese themselves think of approaching industrialism? My impression

is that they are committed to it, but, without specific anti-foreign feeling, want to adapt it to their own genius and control it to their own safety and profit. Some trained observers like Thomas Tchou are extremely articulate in their analysis of how far present industrial conditions in China depart from what is possible, to say nothing of ideal. "China," he says, "with her rich natural resources on the one hand, and a great supply of patient, skillful labor on the other, presents a great field for the development of industry with such a purpose. Considering the great mass of poor people in China, the large-scale modern factories give them work and seem to save them from literal starvation. This fact undoubtedly plays an important part in hastening people to replace the old hand tools with modern machinery. A large number of people whose patience and talent were formerly shown in their artistic handwork are now drawn into the mechanical, power-driven factories. Numerous women and girls who used to lead a plain simple life in villages are attracted to work in the congested factory districts, with their menace to health and morals. Thus both the old Chinese handicraft and family systems — two bulwarks in the stability of Chinese people — are facing the danger of disruption. Before the introduction of modern industry almost nothing was known of 'labor unrest' in China. Nowadays strikes, lock-outs, misunderstandings between capital and

labor are very common occurrences. This unrest is partly due to the lack of public opinion and legislation for the betterment of labor conditions and partly due to the growing group-consciousness of the workers. In nearly all the textile factories are found long hours, night work for women and small children, low wages, unguarded machinery, and a general lack of provision for the well-being of the workers. The two-shift system, twelve hours each, is practiced in nearly all the modern factories. With conditions such as these unwise labor leaders find a ready acceptance of their doctrines."

Experts like Mr. Tchou are not nearsighted, but have true perspective; for a generation of young men educated in Europe and in America knows our standards and our conditions at first hand; moreover, many of these young men have caught a vision of a new industrial order and are at work in the attempt to realize it. The less statesmanlike among them have accomplished little but provocative action, manifestoes in the Marxian terminology, and noisy demonstrations. Some of the more constructive, while holding firmly to the fact of present injustice and the need for a better order, urge that it must be based on Christian principles. For instance a report on the industrial work of the Y.M.C.A.'s in China of three years ago includes the following findings and program based upon them:

1. That the living and working conditions of the Chinese workers are much below the standards of those in western countries.

2. That China, having only begun modern industrial development has an unusual opportunity to build up something new and better than what the East and West have hitherto had, if she is wise enough to learn from past experience.

Consequently, the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in endeavoring to better industrial conditions should aim —

1. At elevating the standard of life and labor through its all-round program, including efforts to create public opinion leading to industrial legislation and,

2. At evolving a new industrial order that will be based on the Christian principles of justice, brotherly love, and service.

The result should be an industrial and economic structure of which cooperation and good will shall form the cornerstone and in which distinctions based on wealth, class, or race should not hamper the full realization of cooperative democracy embracing the economic and political as well as social life of the country.

I am convinced that notwithstanding the boycotts and the "outrages" upon foreigners and their property within the last year, the Chinese are not really anti-foreign nor blindly opposed to foreign capitalism. As a well-informed Chinese leader put it to me:

"The Chinese are not blindly against foreign capitalism. The leaders of thought already realize that unless they have the application of foreign cap-

ital and the employment of experienced foreigners, no great scheme for the development of the natural resources of China is possible. The late Dr. Sun Yat Sen in his *Industrial Problems of China* said that in effect. Only he laid down two criterions: The capital must be applied in the most profitable manner and also the sovereignty of China must not be infringed."

But are the Chinese workers "exploited" by foreign capitalists and concession hunters? So far as I could observe, no more than by the Chinese masters themselves. And as to social attitude there seems to be more in common between foreign and native ruling classes than between widely separated strata of the native population. Nothing on earth can exceed the loftiness of an upper-class Chinese gentleman. This does not excuse in the slightest the abuse and discriminations loaded upon the Chinese coolie by some Europeans and even by some Americans. I frequently heard the complaint from Chinese as well as foreigners that westerners tend to spoil the Chinese; that a Chinaman does not understand kindness but mistakes it for weakness. Industrial leaders not in the least "hard-boiled" advise treating the Chinese with exact justice but without spilling over into sentimentality. Evidently the term "exploitation" requires closer analysis.

What then are some of the specific problems which the first impact of modern industrialism has

presented to China? They are the old familiar array of long hours, low wages, woman and child labor, bad housing, strikes, rioting, repression, and a sporadic labor movement.

Although hours vary considerably according to industry or locality the twelve-hour day is very prevalent. In some industries, as for instance in the coal mines at Poshan in Shantung province, the laborers even work 24 hours in a shift. In many industries such as in the silk filatures at Shanghai a working day of $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours is quite common. In many weaving establishments in North China the working day is 18 hours.

In cotton mills the men, women, and children generally work continuously for 12 hours at a stretch. Every second week they work through night shifts. In some mills half an hour is given for meals.

In Wuhan the steel laborers work from 12 to 18 hours a day, while machinery workers generally work 10 to 14 hours, and apprentices are held to the same schedule as the adults.

In the hair-net and embroidery industries in Chefoo the hours vary from 9 to 11 per day, the average being 10.

Often, besides the usual hours, workers put in overtime work running to 15 or 16 hours where the usual shift is 10 or 12 hours. The rate of pay for overtime is generally from 20 per cent to 100 per cent higher than the straight time wage.

Considering the country as a whole, it has been estimated that *over 70 per cent of the working people work seven days in a week*. Only a few factories under Christian management such as the Commercial Press Works in Shanghai and the hair-net and embroidery industries in Chefoo (which are under Christian influence) and a few others stop work on Sundays. The majority of the industrial establishments work continuously throughout the year. Some of the larger and more modern factories, however, often suspend work for one day in ten or twice a month for the purpose of cleaning and repairing the machinery.

The number of rest days varies somewhat in different parts of the country. Work is suspended from 3 days to 2 weeks at the Chinese New Year. The 5th of the 5th moon and the 15th of the 8th moon (being the dates for the dragon-boat and mid-autumn festivals) are two general holidays.

These long hours are not by any means confined to factories. In Shanghai I saw boy apprentices in small shops working still at 9:45 in the evening; this must have meant at least a twelve to fourteen hour day. Long hours are usually associated with low efficiency or bad management. One Chinese expert confessed his belief that antiquated methods and unscientific management necessitated the employing of three to four times more workers than were really needed to do the work. This means of course loss

in either time or wages. An American engineer attached to the British municipal administration of a great Chinese city, who enjoys a reputation of getting on with Chinese labor very skillfully, told me that Chinese labor in the building trades is only about half as efficient as American labor. Another engineer at one of the mission colleges finds Chinese workers inefficient, incapable of exact measurements, skimpy on materials, "masters at using putty" to cover mistakes. A common phrase, literally translated as "keep the change," covers the all too frequent attitude of "that's near enough" when blunders in tailoring or carpentry are uncovered.

On the other hand there can be no question about the creative artistry which has been the Chinese tradition for two milleniums. I suspect that for exacting customers the Chinese will produce accurately; for the easy-going they will "let it go at that." What the particular disciplines of industrialism will do with this skill and these attitudes, it is too early to say. But a hint may come from Japan. An amazing volume of art-influence has played upon Japan from China and Korea. And the old tradition of beautiful craftsmanship can still be found in corners of Nippon where mass production of ugliness and mediocrity for export does not obtain. And in China mass-scale industry has not achieved such dominance as to crowd out handicrafts. If these manifest mediocrity — and they frequently do — it is not

mass or the machine, but rather cramping tradition, routine, and inertia which are accountable. And these factors spell that inefficiency which reflects itself in long hours and low wages.

The wages of Chinese labor both skilled and unskilled vary widely in different industries and in different parts of the country. There seems to be a fairly close correlation between the degree of industrialization and the level of wages; for on the whole they are higher in South China and along the coast, and tend to decrease the farther inland you go or the more remote the center is from facilities for transport and communication. In general wages are much lower than for similar work even in Japan. Rapid fluctuations in cost of living and particularly in copper exchange complicate the determination of how the curve of real wages has moved. For example in four days of September, 1923, the exchange dropped from 210 to 164 coppers for a dollar Mex. (55 to 60 cents American money). In January, 1925, during the two weeks before the Chinese New Year the rate fell from 278 to 237 in eight days. Sudden turns in the fortunes of the rival generals engaged in civil war registered themselves in antics of exchange, as in the latter part of 1924 when in six days the rate jumped from 237 to 293; a week later it had dropped back to 256. While these are extremes, and the average monthly rate of fluctuation is not more than 1.2 to 3.5 per cent, still the

secular trend from 1900 to 1925 has been pretty steadily upward, namely, from 76.4 coppers per silver dollar in 1900 to 285.5 in 1925. This fluctuation in value of coppers and above all their tremendous depreciation have fallen heaviest on the working classes, for it must be remembered that their wages have been and still are for the most part reckoned and paid in coppers.

Precise wage data are scarce, but reports sent in to the Y.M.C.A. of Shanghai from various industrial centers in 1923 showed the following monthly wages for certain groups of unskilled male workers: Cotton, maximum, \$12 (Mex.); minimum, \$6; average, \$9. Steel and machinery, maximum, \$20; minimum, \$10; average, \$15. Silk, maximum, \$12; minimum, \$6; average, \$8.50. For skilled workers the rates ran: Cotton, maximum, \$30; minimum, \$12; average, \$16. Steel and machinery, maximum, \$80; minimum, \$20; average, \$25. Silk, maximum, \$22; minimum, \$6; average, \$12. Wages for women workers, both skilled and unskilled, run from 15 to 50 per cent lower. The only exception seems to be in the silk industry where both men and women attained the same maximum; the average for women, however, stood 25 per cent lower. In the Peking rug industry the majority of men were receiving (in 1924) between six and nine dollars (Mex.) per month, although the wage spread ranged from twenty dollars down to two, and even to fifty cents per

month in the case of newly graduated apprentices. Even though rug weavers receive certain food allowances, by comparison Peking plumbers, electricians, or painters were plutocrats, drawing about a dollar a day; also they compared unfavorably with trades of similar skill such as masons, carpenters, and tailors, who received fifty to sixty cents per day. The common coolie was reported in 1925 to be receiving forty-five cents a day in Peking. In this area wages of the unskilled tend to be fixed at about the subsistence minimum, a level so low that a large percentage of the men are unmarried. Wages of the skilled stand about 70 per cent above the unskilled.

Wages have to a certain extent been steadily rising along with cost of living for the past twenty-five years. In some centers wages have lagged, and in districts subjected to brigandage or civil war cost of living has temporarily at least soared far above wage rises. The most authentic study of real wages is the investigation carried on for the past three years by Mr. Sidney Gamble, Mr. T'ien-p'ei Meng and their staff in Peking. Their figures show that taking 1913 as base, the index of real wages for skilled labor in the Peking area has fluctuated from 114 in 1900 and 1905 to 85 in 1910, 110 in 1914, 100 in 1920, 88 in 1923, 112 in 1925. For the unskilled the index in corresponding years stood at 130, 95, 109, 111, 95, 108. How shall we account for a workers' psychology which permits such fearful fluctuations and such

drastic cuts in real wages? Largely custom, I believe, and the fact that money wages have not been reduced in sixty-seven years. Eleven wage increases since 1859, nine increases in copper and two in silver wages since 1900 are partially accountable. But there have no doubt been certain adjustments in food allowances and other perquisites, which have helped toward contentment of the workers. Yet a narrow and shrunken customary standard of living if only approximated is evidently sufficient to prevent strenuous efforts by the workers to raise their wages. As Gamble and Meng put it:

“From the changes in real wages it seems evident that the Peking laborers, both skilled and unskilled, have a standard of living that they feel is customary for them. If prices, wages, and exchange are such that they can maintain this standard, no attempt is made to increase wages. Since the gild includes all those connected with the trade, both employers and employees, there is no group that is in a position to reduce wages if a decrease in prices gives the workers some increase in their real wages. If increasing prices bring real wages down to the point where the customary standard of living is threatened, the gild is not slow to call a meeting and raise wages. The close personal relationship that exists between the employers and the employees makes it possible for the former to recognize the needs of their men.

“It has not been possible to determine what

changes there have been in the number of hours a day that the men work, but now, what with stops for tea and meals, a day for the carpenters and masons amounts to between six and seven hours. Considering the low standard of living of the workers, one would naturally think that the men would work longer hours and increase their earnings. Those who are in close touch with the workers say, however, that as long as they can maintain their customary standard of living, the men would rather decrease their hours of work than increase their wages. It is at least significant that, although the Peking men work only six or seven hours a day, carpenters from Tung Hsien, fifteen miles east of Peking, work from nine to ten hours a day and men from Shantung work twelve hours a day. The wages for all three groups are the same. Furthermore, the Peking workers have had but eleven increases in wages since 1859, and six of these have come in the last six years when copper exchange was rising very rapidly."

But this does not tell the whole story. For particularly in the more highly industrialized centers where the labor movement has taken root, many strikes have been impelled by the struggle for income improvement. Professor Ta Chen finds a fairly high degree of positive correlation between the frequency of strikes and the industrial and commercial development of Chinese cities; and his figures covering a total of 698 strikes from 1918 to 1925 indicate that

nearly 60 per cent were due to "economic pressure" — a term which includes such factors as high cost of living, increased taxation, and wage reductions.

It is a truism to point out that Chinese society has been built up out of what sociologists call "primary" or face-to-face groups, families, neighborhoods, and small villages. The significant thing, however, is that the Chinese have failed to develop their social organization much beyond this elementary stage. Hence the difficulty of conceiving or sustaining a genuine national or centralized government. It is true that we are witnessing now what is called an outburst of "national sentiment"; it remains to be seen whether there is in this outburst a genuine substance of nationalism which will crystallize into permanent national structure, or whether it is largely a more or less blind discontent and a gesture of resentment against an outside world which is held accountable for hard times, fluctuating trade, and even banditry.

In any event this intense localism has made anything in the way of an integrated labor movement difficult if not almost impossible. As I shall show a little later, there is such a movement under way; but so far most of the ordinary activities usually associated with the labor movement have been sporadic. Perhaps for that very reason such strikes as have occurred recently in several Japanese cotton

mills of Tsingtao reveal some of the real underlying grievances of Chinese workers, which may in time be expected to produce an organized and even militant labor movement.

Just as the bases of normal family life may be inferred from the causes for divorce, so the norms of a decent set of industrial relations crop out from some of the demands of the Tsingtao workers. There had been a good deal of unrest and discontent for several months; this feeling was aggravated by anti-union action on the part of the Japanese management and by compulsory examination of the workers and of their lodging houses. Early in April, 1925, the workers held a mass meeting and formulated the following demands: (1) a maximum of 10 hours for day work and of 8 for night work; (2) free rent; (3) an annual bonus; (4) one month's leave each year; (5) wage increase of 10 cents (Japanese) per worker per day.

The management refused the above demands and the employees called another meeting, demanding: (1) the recognition of the union; (2) an increase of 30 per cent in wages for contract labor; (3) the doubling of the rice allowance and the abolition of the deposit required by the company for security; (4) free medical treatment for injuries, with full pay during incapacity; (5) a lunch period of one hour; (6) the abolition of flogging; (7) one month's leave before and after childbirth for female employees;

(8) the eight-hour day for child workers; (9) disciplinary measures to be approved by the union and fines imposed upon the laborers to be used for their education; (10) no worker to be dismissed for insufficient cause. As the company refused to consider these demands, the workers, on April 19, declared a strike.

Four days later the owners expressed their willingness to agree to sell flour to the employees at reduced rates, to give them 15 minutes a day in addition to 30 minutes for the noonday meal, and to allow a wage increase of 10 cents (Japanese) a day. Under these conditions the workers seemed to be willing to resume work. But suddenly the Chinese employees of two other Japanese mills joined the strike, increasing the number to about 10,000, and the situation became more serious.

The Japanese owners decided to close down the mills and offered to give travel free to those laborers who wanted to return home; a considerable number of them availed themselves of this privilege. Public opinion in Tsingtao was evidently in favor of the strikers. After April 26 the strike gradually got beyond the control of the labor leaders, and the provincial authorities of Shantung deemed it necessary to arrest intimidating pickets and to suppress the activities of the strike committee. Negotiations were carried on between the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Tsingtao and the Japanese consulate,

to which were also admitted representatives of the mill owners and the strikers. The terms of settlement arrived at May 9, 1925, include: (1) better treatment; (2) increase of 10 cents (Japanese) per day per worker; (3) medical care for the injured, with full pay during incapacity; (4) a 30-minute lunch period with a 10-minute interval of rest at 3 A. M. and 3 P. M. daily; (5) the abolition of flogging; and (6) just disciplinary measures for the workers.

This case seems to be fairly typical. It is noteworthy that nowhere in the story does the element of over-strain or unduly grinding and exhausting labor appear. Nor did I see evidences of it in "modern" factories. Monotony and other undesirable features, yes; but not the killing high pressure which critics of *The Iron Man in Industry* usually ascribe to it. Yet outside the factories I was everywhere impressed, even shocked, at the evidences of the killing strain of lifting, pulling heavy loads, sculling boats, raising pile-drivers, stevedoring from river boats, pushing wheel-barrows, pulling rickshas. In Shanghai it was depressing to see gangs of coolies straining like beasts in the attempt to pull tremendous loads of steel or lumber or other heavy merchandise through the streets. Dr. Peter (an American public health expert in Shanghai) explained to me that when the Chinese discovered that eight coolies could pull more than one horse and could live on less

space than is required to grow the food of one horse, there was no demand for horses so long as coolies were plentiful. No wonder, then, that to thousands of poor peasants the big factory is a godsend with fairly easy work and comparatively good pay. In all such matters we must remember that the rule of relativity applies!

The treatment of women and children may always be taken as a criterion of industrial policy and as a measure of social surplus on the one hand or population pressure on the other. I doubt whether industrialism as such bears harder upon women and children than earlier systems of production. Certainly the records of cottage-industry yield none too bright and happy pictures. The idealization of that chapter of economic history savors strongly of Rousseau and his "happy savages." But it is certainly true that industrialism magnifies any defect in the relationship between employer and employee; it concentrates the evil and makes it more apparent, and by the same token more get-at-able. The humanization of industry has been more readily attained through vivid, and confessedly sometimes overdrawn and sentimental portrayal of the abuse of women and child workers. Hence it is to be expected that this phase of Chinese industrialism should have come in for sharp criticism. The Christian Associations, and in particular the Y.W.C.A., have been so outspoken in revealing and condemning the conditions of women

and child workers in Chinese mills and factories that I found it extremely difficult to obtain permission to visit either silk or cotton mills, particularly in the Shanghai area. Those I saw seemed pretty well equipped from the mechanical and production standpoint, but they would rate almost zero according to western standards of what we begin to call employee service or working environment. Conditions are not much better than they were when Miss Agatha Harrison arrived in China in 1921 as Industrial Executive of the Y.W.C.A. Her first impressions struck deep:

"My first visit to a cotton mill is burnt in on my memory. A large place, working two shifts of twelve hours, seven days a week, equipped with modern English machinery, with none of the modern ameliorating conditions. Primitive sanitary arrangements — an open space in the middle of the yard was the only convenience, as far as I could see. The workroom was crowded with people, ranging from a few months to seventy years of age. Some of the women at the machines had bound feet that only measured about five inches. And everywhere children. In odd corners babies lay in baskets or on boxes asleep, or women sat feeding them, and you could scarcely walk for the tiny tots that swarmed the rooms. Some were working hard, others seemed to be running round — such attractive little people with deft hands, who rightly should be playing. In-

stead they spend twelve hours daily, seven days a week, in the mills. The dust was appalling."

Such a description, says another Y.W.C.A. worker in Shanghai, could be applied to scores of factories, "where the latest thing in machinery might be found with the most antiquated treatment of the workers; and hundreds of factories where machinery and buildings and conditions were all comparable to those in England more than a hundred years ago. Although a few firms, both Chinese and foreign, considered their workers as human beings, for the most part Miss Harrison came to an untouched field as far as dealing with fundamental problems was concerned."

The Christian Associations through their national industrial committees are now busy building up the public sentiment which in default of centralized governmental authority is necessary to the carrying out of even the most elementary regulations. They have utilized their international organizations to secure endorsement and backing for their campaign from British and Australian Chambers of Commerce, American labor leaders and governmental officers, and university professors, social welfare experts, and outstanding personalities from India, Japan, across the Seven Seas to France and even Czecho-Slovakia. The Canton boycott, civil war, and other preoccupations have conspired to put off enactment of these ideals into general practice; and in any event they

cannot become much more than a path-finding gesture or of more than local influence until political conditions are stabilized and a government set up sufficiently aware of the problem and strong enough to execute its social policies.

As the result of pressure from these associations and other humanitarian agencies the Shanghai Municipal Council appointed a Child Labor Commission in June, 1923. Its report published more than a year later came out at an inopportune time and consequently attracted little attention at first. Its five essential recommendations were innocuous enough in all conscience:

1. Prohibition of the employment of children under ten years of age — rising to twelve years within a period of four years.
2. Prohibition of children under fourteen years from working longer than twelve hours out of twenty-four, including a compulsory rest for one hour in the day.
3. A twenty-four hour rest day to be given at least every fourteen days to every child under fourteen years of age.
4. Prohibition of children under fourteen years of age from working at dangerous, unguarded machines, in dangerous places, or at work likely to injure their health.
5. Appointment of trained factory inspectors to enforce these regulations.

But the conditions implied by these and other findings are not confined to large-scale factories. The rug shops of Peking are a by-word. Chu and Blais-

dell paint anything but a flattering picture of them:

"Entering the yard of a rug shop, general disorder and filth is encountered. Most shops occupy a few rooms, which are overcrowded, dark and poorly ventilated, with no attempt at sanitation of any sort.

"In the larger shops big rug frames are placed every three or four feet and the boys sit on swinging planks fixed on scaffolds in front of the loom, the yarn wound in balls, hanging overhead within easy reach. In the small shops there are usually looms on three sides of a room. All work is done by hand and tools and arrangements are of the crudest sort.

"The only direct light in most of the workrooms comes through the door, if the season permits its opening. The rest comes through paper windows darkened by dust, so that such light as succeeds in penetrating is very weak. One compensating factor is that in the warm weather the windows are usually torn out. On the contrary, in the winter, they are more heavily papered to keep out the cold and the door is closed, so that the light is much worse and ventilation is well-nigh impossible.

"During the cold weather, which lasts four or five months in Peking, small Chinese stoves are used in the workrooms, but they are not large enough to do more than give the boys and workers a chance to warm their hands. No attempt is made to really heat the rooms, and the boys naturally look with dis-

favor on the admission of any cold, fresh air. Consequently, even though there are ventilators in the paper windows, they are usually kept tightly closed. On the whole, the temperature is regulated only by the season.

"Sanitation is an unknown quantity, spitting is frequent, and baths few. In some large shops the boys are given four or five coppers every ten days during the summer for bathing, and enough money to have their heads shaved once a month. If they do not use it for this purpose it is not surprising, considering the small amount they ever receive. Unsanitary open toilets are usually just off the courtyard. Foul odors escape and permeate the whole building.

"The floor is of dirt, thickly carpeted with scraps of refuse, wool sweepings and dust, and in most shops the air is so thick with dry moving particles that it is only with difficulty one can see from one end of the small room to the other and breathing is almost impossible. The customary dry sweeping only increases the difficulty. The mud walls are usually dark and dirty, sometimes crumbling.

"The general accumulation of dirt and refuse constitutes one of the biggest health hazards in rug shops. It should be removed from the working place, not only because of its immediate bad effect on health, but also because of its sub-conscious deterior-

ating effect upon the standards of cleanliness of the workers in and out of the shop and upon their inclination and ability to work.

"The workroom also serves as a dormitory for the boys and workmen."

In the cloisonné industry conditions are not much, if any, better. I remember two shops especially, both so dark that I wondered how the men could see to get their tools, to say nothing of working out the intricate and almost microscopic designs. On the north side of Peking I went into a small shop; there in a dark, unventilated room four or five boys were working and apparently eating in the same room and sleeping also on narrow shelves above their benches.

In the neighborhood of Soochow I found a silk filature (Chinese-owned) in which children not over five or six years old were stirring and handling cocoons in steaming hot water. One little girl was crying bitterly over her work. In one of the best silk mills of Shanghai, recommended as under the most enlightened Chinese management. I saw four hundred girls, some under five to six years old. The manager explained that they were "just helping their sisters, who were thus able to keep an eye on them."

Citing these instances does not mean to excuse large-scale industry for unconcern or inhumanity. But modern industry because it has had a century of experience, a century of warnings from pioneers like

Robert Owen, should not and need not "start from scratch," so to speak, in the matter of standards of working conditions. That it is not necessary nor, indeed, good policy is proved by the experiments of certain plants, both foreign and Chinese, with employees' welfare work. One of the largest rug manufacturers is attempting to express his Christianity through improving the working conditions in his shops. The Yangtze Engineering Works in Hankow, the Pacific Alkali Works near Tientsin, the British-American Tobacco Company in Shanghai, and others are pioneering in the direction of medical care and educational facilities. A large cigarette manufacturer of Shanghai as the result of a strike not only recognized the union and gave wage increases but rented a building and turned it over to the union for its various activities. One of my choicest souvenirs is an invitation to attend the third anniversary of organizing this union and to address its meeting.

But the most outstanding of all Chinese employee welfare plans is, I think without question, the rather elaborate system developing in the Commercial Press at Shanghai. This is a thoroughly Chinese plant from top to bottom. It is admirably organized from the production standpoint. Its buildings and general layout would put to shame most urban printing plants of the West. Its employees' club is an imposing structure that would grace a university campus. In

it the various recreational activities are carried on, under a fund of 90,000 taels. Recently a library building has been erected adjoining the club.

Other welfare features include bonuses, a savings bank paying 8 per cent on current and 9 per cent on time deposits, a benevolent fund paying retiring allowances, funeral allowances and grants for injuries or disabilities growing out of employment, and medical treatment. Leaves of absence from five to ten days are granted to employees on occasion of their marriage, or the death of their parents. "Any worker who has invented any new methods, or made any improvements to the Works will be specially rewarded after being recognized by the Company." Confinement allowances of ten dollars are given to women for the period of exclusion from the factory, a month before and a month after confinement. Certain rice allowances are made to apprentices and from one to two dollars a month to all employees receiving less than twenty dollars per month.

Finally must be noted the rather extensive educational program. This includes the Young Men's Self Promotion Association: an evening school with its course of study in both English and Chinese subjects; scholarships for children of employees in both primary and "middle schools"; kindergarten; lectures and moving pictures. Such an enlightened plan is not only a triumph of Christian missions, for the founders of the Press were sincere Christians; it is

also a demonstration of how modern, large-scale industry can be operated in the Orient without the evils which have too long been assumed as its inevitable accompaniments.

In the matter of housing for employees, Chinese industry is apparently repeating our western blunders. Mr. Tchou writes:

"In China, like in other countries, the problem of housing working people is one of the most urgent. Wherever factories have sprung up the working population has flocked around them without any adequate provision to meet the increased demand in housing.

"Owing to the scarcity of houses in the factory districts and the consequent increase in rental, workers' families are often crowded into very small rooms without adequate provision for light and ventilation. Bedroom, kitchen, lavatory, and living room are often all in one. Infectious and contagious diseases go unchecked — children crawl about the dirty, damp, muddy floors. The factory slums in China may be considered as the worst of slums.

"Only a few firms have done anything to provide some of the workers with living quarters; in most cases laborers have to look out for themselves. Some unable to find houses or sheds remain in the country and have to travel considerable distances to the factories, thus adding to their hardship.

“Under present conditions four housing systems are practiced:

(1) The Factory provides special buildings where generally 8 to 12 persons are put in one room which in ordinary times 3 or 4 should occupy. The workers pay a fee from 27 cents to 50 cents per month. Generally such dormitories are poorly built and neglect many of the essential rules of hygiene. But before these dormitories can be condemned, the question may be asked whether workers living in their own homes are under better conditions.

(2) In a large number of factories the workers and the apprentices sleep in the workshops. They work until nine or ten, sometimes until eleven. When they stop work they pull out their rolls of bedding and sleep on the floors or on boards laid across benches. In the morning they roll up their blankets and stack them in some corner until night.

(3) As often workers prefer to live in lodgings kept by themselves, they sometimes come together in groups and rent houses for their own use. They usually pay from 60 cents to a dollar each per month as rent. These houses are often the resorts of unwholesome and vicious practices. Opium smoking, gambling, and other evils go on unchecked.

(4) The fourth method of housing consists of special inns for laborers where they are charged 6 cents to 8 cents per night.”

In Japan some feeble beginnings have been made with workers' housing experiments, especially in Osaka; but scarcely any sign of housing consciousness appears yet in industrial China, unless we except the “model village” created under the patronage of

an enlightened and progressive police head in Peking near his Yamen, or headquarters.

Just before my arrival in Shanghai at the end of 1925 the Commercial Press had been through a short, sharp strike. The surviving member of the original partnership expressed humorous regret that a labor manager had missed such an opportunity to display his talents. The elaborate welfare plan I have already described did not serve to prevent the labor tempest, though apparently it helped to ease up a settlement. The trouble arose over a rumor that the company planned to lay off a considerable number of employees. The rumor assumed the quality of solid fact when about a score were dismissed. Panic ensued. Representatives of the workers interviewed the management and outside "agitators" attempted to capitalize the situation. The management refused to deal with the outsiders or to grant the impossible demands of the workers, namely, 100 per cent increase in wages for the lowest paid workers, and graduated increases for all others down to 50 per cent for the better paid; five dollars per month increase thereafter for everybody every six months; no discharge without consent of the union. Thereupon 3000 workers walked out. After six days' strike and mediatory conferences, the company granted a wage increase averaging 20 per cent but retained the full right to discharge.

Just as we were leaving Shanghai, strikes were

brewing in the furniture trade, and in many industries both employers and workers were "jumpy" and casting about for help to avoid trouble. Newspapers were anxious for interviews on labor management as worked out in America. Large firms, both Chinese and foreign, were preparing to send representatives abroad to study scientific management and personnel work. More than once I was asked, "Can't you send us some industrial missionaries?"

The reason for such concern is apparent if one reads the record of strikes during recent years. From 1918 to 1925 they increased seven fold — not including the "May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai" and its aftermath. While it cannot be asserted that these strikes grew in severity, measured by duration or time lost, they certainly were more extensive, measured by the numbers involved. In 1918 the total number of strikers reported was less than 6500; by 1925 the number jumped to over 400,000. The great majority of strikes occurred, as might be expected, in the textile trades, with communication and transport as a rather close second. The chief other fields of disturbance included construction and building, household goods, foods, ornaments, educational enterprises, tool-making. With scarcely an exception every field witnessed a steady increase in the number of strikes. Disorder attended only about a quarter of these upheavals. Less than five per cent required interference of foreign police. About half

may be termed "successful" strikes. Most of them have been settled by conference or by outside mediation and arbitration.

Of the three main causes for these strikes as analyzed by Professor Ta Chen, namely, economic pressure, alleged maltreatment of workers by employers, and popular movements, the first two accounted for the majority up to the middle of 1925. Hence the comparative ease with which they were settled; this comes out clearly in the fact that their average duration was slightly less than a week. The increasing connexion between popular movements and labor trouble is revealed in contrasting the 173 strikes attributed to the "Shanghai Affair" and the total of 39 patriotic strikes during the whole eight years up to May 30, 1925, (only 8 per cent of the total). And the increasing difficulty of adjusting labor disturbances arising from such a quarter may be estimated from the fact that they last nearly twice as long as the general average of strikes from other causes.

Contemplation of this record leads almost inevitably to a suspicion that somewhere a strong labor ferment is at work. If reactionary employers have been looking toward China as a unionless paradise, they may as well turn their gaze to some other quarter. Ten years ago most Chinese manual workers accepted industrial overlordship as part of a traditional social system, and collective, organized pro-

test was rare. But missionary teaching, the youth movement, the return of foreign-educated students, the mass-education movement made possible by the new thousand-character alphabet, the growing emancipation of women, the influence of Sun Yat Sen, and in all probability contact with Soviet ideas and Soviet gold have all contributed to questioning and breaking down the old social order, to the development of class consciousness, to reaching out toward new standards of living, and the creation of a definite, avowed labor movement.

Although trade gilds have been extremely common in China for centuries, labor unions in the western sense are very recent. The movement began in South China around Canton and the area controlled by Sun Yat Sen. It spread to Hongkong and other centers in the Kwangtung province, and soon included a great variety of crafts. Within three years there remained scarcely a single trade in South China without some form of workers' organization. Successful strikes and the sympathy of press and public opinion gave prestige, "face," to the movement and facilitated its extension. River ways, coastal trade routes, and the few railroads provided the readiest lines for propaganda. Thus Shanghai woke to find sixty unions formed in about six months of 1922. Many others followed in centers like Wuchang, Hankow, and Hunan. Changsha by the end of 1926 had 500 unions with more than 300,000 members. So early

as the end of 1925, I was told that labor was growing so scarce and so "cocky" in Changsha that employers were turning to machinery. Even in Central and Northern China miners, millworkers, railroad men, and others achieved organization. I say "achieved" advisedly, for they had to overcome bitter opposition. M. T. Tchou says that, outside of the territory in Kwangtung province subject to the rule of the Canton government, both Chinese and foreign authorities have looked with disfavor upon labor organization. More than that, in many cases unions have been outlawed and even suppressed by force, and their leaders arrested and executed.

There is no uniform pattern of labor organization in China; some unions follow craft lines like the old guilds; some industries lean toward industrial unionism; some think in Soviet terms, some in Fascist; some look toward alliance with existing political parties; others play with ideas of social revolution; still others would qualify for the American Federation of Labor through their conviction that labor must work out its own salvation without partnership with either politicians or radicals. Some attempts have been made to bring these diverse patterns into a semblance of unity through national labor conferences. Three of these conferences have been held in Canton between 1922 and 1926. Only 162 delegates from 200 unions, representing approximately 400,000 workers, attended the first. The third brought

together 400 delegates, representing 1,240,000 organized workers.

How far is the Chinese labor movement simply a Soviet frontier? Opinion, even in China, and even amongst the foreigners, is divided. A leading missionary educator in Shanghai told me flatly that the talk of Soviet activity in China was nonsense. Yet almost at the same time the Soviet Minister was boasting in Peking that he had already spent \$2,250,000 in propaganda and that was only a fraction of what he proposed to spend. Sun Yat Sen was called a Socialist, but he strongly repudiated communism and went out of his way to criticise and refute Karl Marx's economic doctrines. Yet in Canton the Soviet influence has been strongly felt notwithstanding Sun Yat Sen's prestige.

Not only in the government and the army has this activity appeared. It is clear in the tactics of labor conflict, in the slogans, the terminology, and the growing class consciousness. A report of a committee on industrial and labor problems of the Chinese Y. M. C. A. says definitely, "the influence of Soviet Russia is giving new impetus to the more radical elements among the working classes and intellectuals, who are looking for a short cut in socio-economic reform." It appears also in the May Day celebrations, which began in 1920 and have been the occasion of some rather noisy and disorderly political agitation. Another straw is presence of Chinese del-

legates at the Conference of the Red International of Labor Unions at Moscow in August, 1924. The recent split in the Kuomintang party itself and the demand of the Moderates that the Nationalist movement shall purge itself of Borodin and other radical, revolutionary elements is something more than a mere gesture or volley of words.

The various rival patterns of labor organization in China indicate that Sovietism has by no means a clear field. Apparently Russian influence is on the decline as the ancient, unregenerate imperialism is more and more clearly descried under its thin mask of communism. Certain it is that many of the labor leaders have no more love for Soviet Russia than for Japanese or British concession-hunters. The soundest sentiment seems to be reflected by Professor Ta Chen. He holds that the progress of the labor movement depends upon labor's divorce from politics and radicalism. He believes that courageous men should be recruited, who are resolved to fight unselfishly and independently in labor's behalf. Unless there be a substantial number of men firmly convinced that industrial and social advancement will follow only after the emancipation of the proletariat, a "fruitful labor movement" can not be carried on.

He also is convinced that labor's chief ambition should be the workers' economic and social improvement, for their present misery is essentially the result of social and economic causes. Hence he declares

that "the economic phase of the fight should precede any other consideration in a program of social reconstruction for present-day China."

This involves a warning against unsound practices and against too close an imitation of occidental labor tactics, as trade-union policies which prove efficient in one part of the world may be a failure in another. The methods and practices of western trade-unions should be adapted to conditions in China. Thus he suggests the inadvisability of blindly advocating an 8-hour day when a 10-hour day would in many cases prove a boon to the workers, and also the futility of irrational agitation for labor co-partnership when the great mass of laborers are illiterate and have little appreciation of such schemes.

What is urgently needed, he concludes, is a program of practical reforms, based upon existing social conditions, which shall truly serve to promote the welfare and happiness of the workers. Some fundamental work must be done to build up an intelligent proletariat, capable of appreciating and using wisely its just rights and privileges. Gradually its social standards should be raised, so as to insure industrial peace in the nation, and thence ultimately throughout the world.

The unfortunate Shanghai "Massacre" of May 30, 1925, resulted in an astonishing consolidation of public sentiment in favor of the workers. Students,

missionaries, newspaper correspondents, and native chambers of commerce joined labor's cause. But such organizations as the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. had been quietly at work crystallizing Chinese industrial consciousness, endeavoring to pave a high-way toward industrial peace and justice. Witness a set of Resolutions on Industrial and Labor Problems drawn up by an all-Chinese Committee of the National Y. M. C. A. in 1924:

1. WHEREAS the evils attendant upon the factory system have made themselves manifest in an increasing measure in China, and

WHEREAS the life and all-round development of the workers is thereby endangered and hampered:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Pan-Pacific Conference recommend that all employers, Foreign as well as Chinese, be urged to introduce a sound system of welfare work based on the recognition of personality and all-round efficiency and not on charity.

2. WHEREAS one of the evils most serious in its consequences is child labor, it being not only detrimental to the children at present and in the future, but depressing the standard of living:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference urges that one of the first emphases in industrial reform in China be in the direction of the gradual abolition of child labor, and that along with this an adequate system of primary education be developed, looking toward a universal system.

3. WHEREAS an international labor standard has been set up by agreement between the nations of the world, and

WHEREAS China has not yet effectively incorporated this standard into her industrial life:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference seek to promote higher labor standards in China, and as an immediate measure to support the standard adopted by the National Christian Conference in China May, 1922, viz. (a) No employment of children under 12 full years of age, (b) One day's rest in seven, (c) The safeguarding of the health of worker, e.g., limiting working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, and the installment of safety devices, etc.

4. WHEREAS the right of association, which is now denied Chinese workers, both in Foreign settlements in China and the rest of the country, is now enjoyed by workers in practically the whole world, and

WHEREAS it is just to accord working people this right, in order to give them bargaining power, the opportunity of self-expression and self-development to meet the needs in their working and living conditions:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference exert its influence to remove the repressive measures now being used against workers' organizations by Foreign and Chinese authorities alike in China, and to strive for the adoption of the principle set up by the League of Nations with regard to the rights of association and combination of the workers.

5. WHEREAS the Foreign capitalists in China enjoy such privileges as stipulated under extraterritorial rights, and those which, because of the exemption from the payment of likin and other taxes under the terms of tariff treaties, give access to Chinese inland markets to the detriment of Chinese manufacturers;

WHEREAS the Chinese capitalists are thereby placed un-

der conditions not only of competition but of unfair competition, caused by the forementioned special situation; and

WHEREAS an increasingly strong feeling of just resentment injurious to international good relationships is being aroused, affecting people in ever-increasing numbers, because of the above-mentioned facts and factors:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference shall use all available means to call the attention of the various sections of the people in the different Pacific countries and other countries, to the abnormal conditions resulting from the unduly powerful position of Foreign nationals, and the high feeling arising therefrom among the Chinese people, so that a study can be made, and so that definite reports from public bodies be forwarded, (1) to the various Governments, (2) to the League of Nations, in order that good feelings may be progressively restored between Chinese and Foreigners, especially between the latter and the workers by hastening the time when unequal treaties can be revised into treaties which will accord to China the treatment due to a sovereign nation, and remove conditions unfair to the Chinese manufacturers, thus making Foreign enterprises really welcome to the Chinese people.

6. WHEREAS Foreign industries in China owing to the provisions of existing treaties do not observe industrial laws that may be enforced in China;

WHEREAS the evils of the modern factory system have arisen as a result of the introduction of modern industry largely by Foreign firms, which in consequence should now do all they can to set up standards of labor at least as high as those in their home countries; and

WHEREAS the Chinese public and workers feel keenly a

sense of injustice, which has begun to affect the peaceful and successful conditions of foreign enterprise:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference urge that pending the revision of the existing treaties, foreign enterprises in China place themselves under the laws and regulations that are and will be enforced in native industries and at the same time strive to raise the standard of labor as near as possible to that of the League of Nations.

7. WHEREAS discrimination against the entry and pursuit of Chinese laborers in the United States, China, Japan, Australia, and other Pacific countries is contrary to the principle of reciprocal friendly treatment and is giving just cause for China's resentment:

BE IT RESOLVED that efforts be made by the Conference and steps taken wherever possible, to remove all evidences of discrimination and to accord to China the rights to control immigration into her territories that are enjoyed by other sovereign states of the Pacific.

One's first conclusion is that the impact of modern industry upon China must produce even more of a social cataclysm than in Europe. For several reasons. First, because of the chronic over population, or what amounts to the same thing, bad distribution of surplus population. Second, because of the almost incredibly low standard of living acquiesced in by long custom and habit. Third, the almost universal illiteracy. Fourth, the lack of strong centralized government with the resultant business uncertainty and tendency for local military adventurers to trade concessions for arms or money. This same lack of

central government makes any national labor standards mere words. Finally, the peculiarly intensive family system upon which Chinese society is built. If this were to break, as it has broken in the West before the factory and economic individualism, Chinese society must crumble into dust and nothingness; for social structure cannot be thrown together overnight like a revolutionists's barricade.

Yet a more careful estimate of the situation need not leave one pessimistic. The new mass education, the development of at least a measure of real national sentiment, the spread of a vigorous labor movement, and the sheer abilities of the Chinese people themselves argue that China will not be an easy victory for the industrial exploiter, but may work out a type of industrialism consonant with her national genius and unattended by some of the noxious by-products which the West in its pioneering days did not or could not avoid. I have a profound respect for the demonstrated capacity of the Chinese people. And they are by no means at the end of their historical rôle. If I were a victim of that national and racial hysteria which has afflicted some American self-appointed guardians of Aryan and Nordic destinies, I should not worry about the Japanese nor the Malaysians nor the Indians; but I should keep my weather eye upon the Chinese, for the meek shall inherit the earth.



The industrial pattern of India is closer akin to the Chinese than to that of Japan. One might expect an even greater divergence because of a century and a half of British commercial domination and because of the militant opposition of Mahatma Gandhi and the Swarajists. But the standardization of modern factory equipment tends to smooth out the variants: a cotton mill is a cotton mill whether in South Carolina or Manchester or Shanghai or Bombay. India resembles both China and Japan in the predominance of agriculture, for from 75 to 90 per cent of the population are *ryots*, cultivators. Industry supports scarcely more than ten per cent of the total population. Out of the 17,000,000 employed in various industries less than one million are found in power mills. Hence there is no industrial proletariat, for Indian factory labor is drawn from agricultural and village life. The proportion of large-scale industry is growing, but the tendency for machines to displace men prevents any very rapid industrialization of the population.

The excellent network of railroads which the British have built makes possible a well-distributed industrial pattern. Nevertheless, like the Chinese, Indian industry is spotty and highly localized, still clinging to the sea coast or to great rivers like the Hoogly. The cotton mills center about Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Madras; jute mills around Calcutta; steel and iron, a little west of Calcutta in Bengal; stockings

and other knitted goods in Cawnpore; silk-weaving and dyeing in Madura and Jaipur; rug-making in Amritsar; jewel-cutting and brassware employ thousands of workers in Jaipur; and while all India is one vast sink hole for the precious metals, the silver-jewelry trade is traditionally associated with the city of Trichinopoly, and Benares is a world center for silver and gold thread.

The geography of Indian industries stands out clearly enough: the large-scale, heavy or basic industries like steel and textiles, with the single exception of knitted goods, hug the sea coast and the early British settlements; while trades like jewelry and silks which have not yet emerged from the stage of small-shop, handicraft organization flourish in centers independent of waterways or railroads. The dye and silk trades of Madura, for example, are the outcome of invited immigrants who settled there under protection of an enlightened ruler, much as the Flemish weavers and Huguenot silk workers accepted English mercantilist protection and helped to lay the foundations for English textile supremacy.

Even within these narrowed limits the industrialized centers of India vary widely. Bombay made the mistake of allowing a high concentration of manufacturing plants. In the absence of zoning or other devices of modern city planning this produced on the narrow island tremendous overcrowding, high tenements, slums, and a resultant appalling mortali-

ty-rate. Ahmedabad recalls Nuremberg or Soochow in its sharp separation of the new, modern factory district from the old and somewhat shabby mediævalism within the city walls. Outside, the tall cotton mill chimneys pouring forth clouds of smoke; inside, narrow streets and little handicraft shops turning out kites, shoes, brassware, and the ubiquitous silver chains which you buy by the yard or by weight measured in coined silver.

Madras betrays little of its industrialism, partly because like Delhi or Lucknow it "spreads all over the map" and covers such a huge area that even a good-sized factory could be lost. Calcutta represents the type becoming familiar to America as a "satellite town"; that is, its industries are grouped about the main city in smaller towns. Thus the jute mills are a considerable distance up the river, and the steel and iron mills even farther west. From the beginning the founders of Calcutta seem to have had a keen sense of city planning. No doubt military considerations had much to do with leaving the Maidan, a great stretch of grassy park, half a mile wide and a mile long in the very heart of the city; nevertheless there it remains a great ventilator and a remarkable recreation ground where you may play tennis or cricket, or follow the horses at the race course, or if you are a pious Mohammedan, say your prayers before all the world at sunset. In spite of these precautions congestion began to appear in one section of

Calcutta. That same city-planning sense consciously asserted itself by condemning and razing large areas of threatening slums, opening up broad streets, and paying for the improvements out of "excess condemnation" and increased property valuation. Of all Indian cities, Bombay, therefore, seems to manifest the adverse stigmata of *laissez faire* industrialism to the highest degree.

Some critics have charged this situation to the predominant Parsee ownership of Bombay industries rather than to topography and general heedlessness. This raises the interesting question, Who owns or controls Indian trade and industry? The Parsees, and particularly the great Tata family, control the greatest steel works; the Parsees also own most of the cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad; the English control the cotton industry of Madras; British and Americans share the jute mills; the growing motion picture industry is held by the Parsees. If we reckon — as many Indians do — the Parsees as "outsiders," it is clear that most large-scale industry is in the hands of non-Indians. On the other hand the silk, rug, carpet, and jewelry trades are controlled by native Indians. For reasons of caste all aspects of the meat industry and its derivatives — butchering, hides, leather, shoemaking — are relegated to Mohammedans; but in this field the Chinese are beginning to claim a share; within the last few years they have "peacefully

penetrated" Calcutta and now all but dominate the boot and shoe trade there.

This analysis of ownership is not a by-path but is essential to an allocation of responsibility for Indian social conditions growing directly out of industrialization. By way of a bill of particulars let me recall Mr. Gandhi's charges against western industry. (See *ante* p. 19.) It reads like pages out of Carlyle's *Past and Present*. D. G. Mukerjee presents a much more colorful indictment of machine industry in the words of a Bombay barber whom he describes in *My Brother's Face*. This barber had been a textile worker, was befriending the striking textile workers, and was a Swarajist and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi:

"Eleven hours a day feeding those hot monsters of metal, sir, week in and week out; Sundays are no vacation — they are but days of recuperation; we cannot love the devil of the West. . . .

"I too once worked at nursing those hell-begotten metal-mouths. But I gave it up. Now I barber those who feed the beast. I earn less, but I get more time for singing and idleness. Was time meant to be counted by clock strokes and screeches of factory whistles? Did not the gods make time for men to fashion dreams? Mahadeo, Mahadeo! The men strike because they live like earthworms crawling between machines eleven hours a day. They strike because they need the cure of indolence for their

rusty limbs. Is man a centipede that he should crawl on his belly fast as the lightning to feed monster mouths hither and yon? The wives toil too; between bearing children and giving suck to machines they grow scrawny as scare-crows and their voices sound like the very cry of filth. Women lose their bloom and men their gods — they visit no more temples; nor do they sing songs. God goes abegging for a votary in this our old God-enchanted land. Nay, sir, the factory is now the God of these men and women, and the whistle is his speech. They know not what they strike for; but I know. They strike because they are sick of feeding the hot mouths of metal when they should be feeding their own babes. . . . Strikes come because men are giving up their gods for the hell of factory work."

A paragraph or two from a report of the Social Service League of Bombay, *Slumland of Bombay*, presents the picture from another light and recalls similar chapters from English reports a century ago or from Jacob Riis's *Battle with the Slum* in New York:

"Modern civilization first brought these slums into existence. Every center of this civilization has a slum-land of its own. The laws and conditions obtaining in this wonderful land, appear to be altogether different from those of the normal world. Bombay, being no exception to the rule mentioned above, has her own slums too. These slums are oc-

cupied by poor, illiterate working-class people, especially workers in factories and elsewhere. A minute observer will find that the rooms which are occupied by these people are themselves kept very clean. But they, like many other people, are not careful about maintaining the surroundings of their rooms clean. As regards the conditions due to the negligence of the landlords and the Municipal servants, in accordance with the general spirit of resignation and fatalism inherent in our tradition, they are not accustomed to protest against the grievances from which they suffer. Even if they wish to make a protest, they are not in a position to do so, owing to their ignorance and illiteracy. This is one of the reasons for the existence of the grossly insanitary conditions in slum areas.

“Under the directions of a Sanitation Board, a number of volunteers and workers of the League conduct tours in various working-class and other localities with a view to inspecting the sanitary — or rather insanitary — conditions of chawls and houses, roads and gullies, as well as public and private thoroughfares. The state of things witnessed during these rounds has been extremely unsatisfactory. The only appellation which the accumulation of mud and filth, the unswept side-streets and passages, the unkempt and sordid appearance of chawls that have been observed merit, is scandalous. The filthiness of the conditions might be depicted as indescribable,

were it not that several of the workers have published extraordinarily vivid sketches of their experiences in the daily press and in their reports to the League. On reading these, one is amazed at the patience and powers of endurance of the humbler sections of the city's population who contribute to the wealth and happiness of a few others but drag on their own existence from year's end to year's end in conditions of abject slovenliness, dirt, and squalor. That they do not rebel at the conditions in which they live or do not commit crimes against person and property reflects great credit on their innate goodness and sanity. As one of the writers has said, 'deaths in disturbances or confinement in jails are infinitely superior to life in a typical Bombay working-class chawl.' . . .

"My readers would now, I am sure, cry 'halt' and I too have no mind to inflict any more description of these slums on them. I could not stand this spectacle, nor can my readers stand its description. Moreover, who can draw a vivid picture of these slums? Even a Dickens or a Zola will not be able to draw such pen-pictures of these slums as would give an adequate idea of the realities of the situation! The best landscape painter in the world would fail to convey the impressions made by such a scene on his mind. Modern civilization has brought these slums into existence, but it has not yet invented a camera that can do justice to such a scene.

“With a sigh of relief I got out of the chawls, and found on the other side of the lane, beyond a stone wall, a vacant buffalo stable. It was a vast shed and presented a striking contrast. It was so clean, really a heaven compared with the hell just visited by us. I could not help exclaiming that in Bombay even buffaloes, not to speak of rich men’s pet horses and dogs, were more fortunate than human beings.

“The scenes visited by us set my mind thinking. At last I found that slumland was the most wonderful land. I wondered whether there could be worse slums in Bombay or anywhere on the face of the earth and if there be any what they must be like.

“The mortality, specially the infantile mortality in Bombay is very high. Before I visited these slums I wondered why it should be so high. Now I wondered why it should be so low, why epidemics did not more frequently and in a more virulent form break out. *Dame Nature is very kind* and she endows, it is said, the people in such localities *with immunity* from a number of diseases. Never before I realized this truth. (*sic!*)

“The jail can have no horrors for those who have lived in these slums. Really it was a wonder that there were few criminals among the people living in such localities. I would myself *prefer six years in a jail to a single day in a typical Bombay slum*. If these slums provide some criminals it is no wonder. They ought to provide many more.

"The laboring classes are fond of visiting the grog-shop. If liquor be of any use in making one forget these conditions in a slum, I will not, a prohibitionist as I am, advocate the carrying out of total prohibition till these slums are wiped out of existence, and the working classes are provided with houses fit for human habitation. The wonder is at present not that so many millhands drink but that there are still some who never drink or only occasionally drink.

"The migratory character of labor in Bombay is well known. It is pointed out as a serious drawback in the efficiency of labor. Every millhand, every workman for the matter of that, spends a month or two or even three or four months at a stretch in his native village. The wonder is not that he should be prepared to lose wages by leaving Bombay but that he should at all care to return. I would not blame him if he prefers to starve in his native village.

"Now-a-days we hear a lot about ventilation and humidification in factories and efforts are being made by Government officers to collect statistics about the effect of factory conditions on the health of operatives. A workman has to spend ten hours or less in the factory and about twelve at home. However improved the factory conditions may be, they will easily be counterbalanced by the home conditions. I wonder whether the worst factory in Bombay could be as insanitary as the chawls I just saw.

"The greatest wonder I was struck with was about the spirit of resignation and the fatalism so characteristic of the Indian character. While I was pitying the lot of the residents of those slums I found some of them laughing and cracking jokes. A few accosted us and asked us good-humouredly how we enjoyed the round. I was struck with wonder to find such pure gold of human nature in such squalid surroundings.

"Surely, the slumland is a land of wonders and beats hollow the so-called wonderland of Alice in the story."

Under the skillful guidance of Mr. Saharrabuddhi of the Parel district center maintained by the Social Service League, I went through a typical slum area of that factory workers' district. The open drain was nasty and the chawls (or tenements) dark, overcrowded, and altogether inadequate. Yet I must confess that they did not impress me as much if any worse than the lofty tenements near the center of Bombay or than the farm huts or mud villages from which these textile workers come. A village just outside Agra on the highway to Fatepur Sikri — what we could see of it through dust and the clouds of flies — left a far more depressing memory than the slums of Bombay. Unsavory slums appear also in the bazaar quarters of Lucknow and other non-industrial cities.

The overcrowding due to high rents and the

"lodger" or sub-letting system is the most disastrous feature of the Bombay situation. The municipality has made a beginning by creating a Housing Trust, which has razed some areas and built new tenements. Some corporations like the G. I. P. Railway have also put up chawls. But the standards are kept low and the rooms small largely because the low wage of the average worker cannot stand high rents. Cotton weavers, the aristocrats of the industry, earn from fifty to sixty rupees per month; spinners from twenty-five to thirty-five rupees; unskilled workers only a few cents per day. Rents in the Parel district range from two rupees eight annas (less than a dollar, American) to ten rupees (about \$3.70) per month. Already, as is so frequently the case, destroying the old noisome tenements and replacing them with more sanitary habitations has raised rents and induced overcrowding.

Patrick Geddes called the Bombay system of tenements "warehousing, not housing the workers"; but I confess that confronted with such incredibly low standards of living and wages and with the initial mistake of attempting to pack commerce and industry and living quarters all into a narrow island, I would have no easy solution of the Bombay housing problem. Some heroic city-replanning in the worst-congested spots, plus patient, slow improvement and general raising of standards through such publicity as the reports of the Social Service League and legis-

lation based upon the facts uncovered are the only ways I know for meeting this phase of the impact of industry upon a city like Bombay.

The basic difficulty lies with the working people themselves, in their traditional over fecundity, resignation, and illiteracy. As frequently happens, the educated reformer is much more shocked by the living and working conditions of the poor than the poor themselves are. Some of the Bombay amateur sanitary inspectors were jarred because they found workers cracking jokes and evidently enjoying life in their dark chawls. Probably improvement will have to await a labor class-consciousness which will make its own demands. Professor H. L. Kaji of Sydenham College of Commerce thus states the case:

“The laboring classes themselves have not yet awakened to resent their conditions of life, much less to protest against their continuance in unmeasured terms. They are fast learning to ask for better conditions of work inside the factory; they are fast imbibing the spirit of militant trade-unionism; but they have not yet realised that they must equally bestir themselves to get their grievances redressed in the matter of their conditions of life outside the factory. They are illiterate, inured to hardships, acclimatised to these slums. They are dumb and passive sufferers. The need for improvement is there, but the need is not vocal yet. But certainly we need not wait for needs to be vocal before setting out to

meet them. The difficulty is that there is no definite party against which class warfare could be waged in this case. The landlord, one might say, is the person who is the party which should be brought to book. The degree of overcrowding is, however, so terrible, the demand has so out-grown the supply that the landlord considers himself pretty safe from the 'secession of tenants' even if one be threatened. The evil cannot be met by militant organisations but rather by the more peaceful but surer weapon of co-operation, which has not, excepting perhaps a little on the credit side, yet captured the fancy or appealed to the imagination of the laboring classes."

Perhaps the cooperative movement will in the long run prove a solution, but before that a new perception and a new sense of living standards must be awakened and drilled into the dumb masses of these workers.

But questions of wages and standards of living cannot be handled *in vacuo*. Can Indian industry do better by its workers than it is actually doing? Is it competent and efficient? Several factors must be considered before a hasty answer is returned. The terrific tropical heat tends to slow down the productive pace. It used to be said that such a climate ruled out the iron and steel industry; but experience of the Tata Works and other plants disproves that. Yet in agriculture, building operations, and in fact nearly every occupation except taxi-driving in Calcutta,

the worker is geared low. The over population makes labor naturally cheap. Indian labor is migratory, untrained, and unorganized.

Modern banking practice is almost completely unknown among the natives; there are less than 1500 banks, including branches, in the whole country. While in 1924 the United States reported one bank for approximately every 3800 people, Indians enjoyed the services of only one bank to every 218,000 of the total population. The common people resort in hard times to the money-lender. (I was going to use the familiar word loan-shark, but it is too mild a term; perhaps loan-tiger or loan-wolf would be better!). He needs his leather face and his stout club walking stick, for he charges not infrequently 6 per cent per month or 75 per cent a year. In relatively prosperous seasons the natives turn to the bullion sellers and absorb from three hundred to four hundred million rupees annually. Some of this is turned into jewelry to satisfy the love of display; the rest is hoarded. Centuries of misrule and confiscation taught the Indian peasant that precious metal is more easily concealed than other forms of property, and this tradition has survived a hundred years and more of *pax Brittanica*. To the same degree, however, it hampers the building-up of supplies of capital for industrial investment. This is one of the basic reasons for the failure of Swaraj to "catch on." The tradition of a comparatively easy market for Indian goods did

not supply the pressure for managerial efficiency which post-war conditions are demanding. British fiscal policy may also have had something to do with the situation.

In view of these facts or in spite of them, it appears that the efficiency of Indian labor and management is distinctly lower than, for example, the Japanese. For the Bombay cotton trade languishes despite removal of the Government excise, while Japan and even Italy continue to pour their cotton goods into Indian ports. Indian labor is relatively less productive than either Chinese or Japanese. It is significant that the Japanese enjoy both the highest standard of living and the highest industrial productive efficiency in the Orient. Higher efficiency can hardly be hoped for from Indian labor until something breaks the vicious circle of low living standards and low productivity.

There seem to be hopeful signs that the circle may be broken, however. Since the war India has made notable, though gradual, strides in her cotton industry. She now manufactures more than half her annual consumption of cotton piece goods; that is, 2,000,000,000 out of a total of 3,600,000,000 yards. This gain is due in part at least to the installation of new types of steam and hydro-electric weaving machinery capable of working up the short-staple fiber which constitutes four-fifths of the Indian cotton crop. Many of these new plants are under Indian

management. Another hopeful factor is the discovery that the long-staple fibre essential to finer grades of cloth can be grown on the new reclaimed land of the Punjab and other irrigated areas. Just as soon as certain Indian business men realize that the war is over and that they must plow into the business part of their profits, perhaps even some of their war profits, their section of the cotton industry may revive like a garden whose master finally remembers to water it.

The Indian caste system has been charged with everything else; perhaps it is economically wasteful, too. Closely drawn social lines tend to hamper trade and industry. And intense religious fanaticism, entanglements of taboo, excessive holidays and pilgrimages affect productivity. But in spite of the fact that to the Indian mind a factory or a machine has something of the *sacré* about it, and regardless of the caste system, I am convinced that Indian factories can be run efficiently from the labor standpoint. Modern personnel management in a racial hodge-podge like Chicago or Cleveland is able to bring about productive order and discipline, plant *esprit de corps*, and even rather highly organized employee — participation plans. The lack of a common language is no insuperable obstacle.

So far as Indian labor is concerned, it lacks incentive and education; it is migratory and intensely local in outlook. Effective organization has been hindered

by these facts, by lack of experienced leadership, and by the omnipresent cleavage into castes and sects. Hence labor troubles have been sporadic and in the nature of explosions of feeling rather than carefully planned strategic moves in a long-range campaign. An Indian strike is in western labor slang a "fade-away." There is usually little or no violence because the workers instead of congregating around the mills disappear like a Nevada river; they slip back to their own villages. Such a condition where labor is relatively scarce becomes the happy dream of the western labor leader and the nightmare of the western employer. Indeed one of my employer friends, whose labor plan is nationally famous, once defined collective bargaining as the union's ability to bring back workers who had walked out of the shop on strike.

Indian employers evidently begin to worry also over this sort of strike; for even though Indian loins produce a mighty cataract of unskilled workers, skilled or even semi-skilled labor is costly to train and becomes potentially more and more valuable as the pressure of competition increases and exacts higher managerial efficiency. This explains to a certain degree the eager attention and fire of questions which greeted my exposition of the system of labor relations in the Chicago men's clothing industry, for example, at Lucknow University. The English education of many Indian economists, the study of

American industry, and the visits of British Labor M. P.'s like Ramsay MacDonald have familiarized certain small sections of the Indian people with the ideals and methodology of western labor movements; they have created a sympathetic group of intellectuals, which English, German, Japanese, and even to a certain extent American experience has proved essential to a well-integrated labor movement.

Of this group men like Professor R. Mukerjee of Lucknow have already been called in to mediate in labor disputes. One experience of his will illustrate the rather naive and tentative attitude of both employers and workers. A walkout occurred in a factory because of a rumor that a foreman had mistreated the wife of one of the workers. There had been grave dissatisfaction with housing conditions, but this grievance precipitated the strike. The workers effected a make-shift organization, but had no treasury; yet they held out for many days. The arbitrator feared lest they yield behind his back, for he knew how tenuous were their resources. The company was equally fearful that the workers would "fade-away." The mediator succeeded in manipulating the situation in such a way that the workers remained in the vicinity but did not "cave in," and that the employers agreed to better housing and other working conditions, including assurance of proper behavior of minor executives. Thus the faces of

both sides were saved and substantial advantages secured for the workers. It must always be remembered that "face" and "saving the face" are paramount issues in the social and commercial life of the Orient. Moreover the impact of industry is so recent upon India that neither employers nor workers are quite able yet to estimate each other's "fighting potential" in the process of avoiding or adjusting labor difficulties.

Indian intellectuals also are largely to be credited with whatever general legislation exists for protecting the workers. And right here crops out most clearly the value of strong, centralized government. As we have already seen, statutory labor standards cannot be more than benevolent gestures in China until some semblance of national unity is achieved. On the other hand while India is a congeries of various types of political units — native states, groups of smaller provinces, and great areas like Bengal or Madras Presidency — yet it has an Imperial Legislative Assembly which can give unity and prescribe standards throughout the motley federation. Representatives of the workers' interests have been active in both imperial and provincial legislatures.

This same articulate group of intellectuals have labored for the social welfare of the masses and, specifically in many cases, to reduce the shock of industrialism, through such organizations as the Serv-

ants of India, the Social Service League of Bombay, and the Bengal Social League. The Servants of India with headquarters in Poona maintain social centers in various parts of the country, for example in Lucknow. I recall a crowded forum meeting at this center addressed by Mr. Centamini, editor of the *Indian Leader*. He gave a masterly criticism of the various congresses — nationalist, Moslem, and otherwise — held during the Christmas holidays in 1925, and urged a program of liberalism and evolutionary reform in politics and industrial policy. Such centers of discussion together with the newspapers and journals of enlightened opinion like Mr. K. Natarjan's *Indian Social Reformer* or the *Social Service Quarterly* (Bombay) are invaluable as generators of public awareness on social problems including labor.

The activities of agencies like the Bombay Social Service League come even closer to grips with industrial problems. This League, organized in 1910, conducts several social settlements and workingmen's centers. Other Workmen's Institutes founded by it have been taken over by the management of mills in the neighborhood of which they had been started. The Parel Settlement which I specially visited is a genuine social center, a simplified Toynbee or Hull House. One of its treasured souvenirs is a group photograph with Jane Addams in the midst. The list of its activities is truly impressive: library, gym-

nasium, English night school for workers, temperance and recreational work, textile school, cooperative credit society, relief work for strikers' children and influenza victims, aid to tenants, magic lantern lectures, legal aid, and neighborhood meetings on behalf of increased playground facilities.

Other League activities include promotion of mass education through vernacular night schools, traveling libraries, etc.; public health through free dispensaries, sanitation and child welfare propaganda; work for women, maternity and infant welfare work; prison preaching, spread of the cooperative movement, securing compensation for injured workmen; theatricals, boy scouts and boys' clubs, and lectures on social subjects.

The Bombay Working Men's Institute most clearly reveals the League's concern for labor. It is intended to serve as a central institution for the working classes of Bombay, has its own building, meeting hall, school, and recreation space.

"The Institute devotes its special attention to the spread of the cooperative movement among the working, and especially the depressed, classes with a view to bringing about their economic betterment. During the year under report [1924] seven new cooperative societies were organised. The members of four of these societies are employees of the Conservancy Department of the Bombay Municipality, most of them being menial workers. . . . Thus now

there are eight cooperative credit societies organised by the Institute for the benefit of the menial municipal employees. The municipal authorities have been requested to extend their help in financing these societies and in bearing the expenses of supervision. The members of these societies mostly belong to the depressed classes and chronic indebtedness prevails among them to an appalling extent, the money-lenders being Marwaris and Pathans. These societies are trying to rescue their members from these professional money-lenders by advancing them small loans at an easy rate of interest.

“The collection of facts regarding the economic condition of the working classes from accounts of earnings and expenses of some typical families written daily continuously for some months, which was undertaken by the Institute, has been completed.

“The Workmen’s Compensation Act came into force in July, 1924. As most of the workmen did not know this fact, the Institute distributed broadcast handbills containing a brief summary of the Act and giving instructions regarding the precautions to be taken by workmen who have to claim compensation under the Act. Also posters conveying the information that the Act had come into force were put up at various centres in the working-class localities. The League also through these handbills and posters undertook to provide legal and other help in getting the claims of workmen under the Act duly recognized.

This was necessary especially in view of the fact that some business agencies were started for the purpose of securing compensations for workmen. One of these agencies having made some underhand arrangement to secure promptly the addresses of the dependents of workmen fatally injured in industrial accidents, the League was not approached till the end of the year under report by any such dependents for help, in spite of the distribution of handbills and the putting up of placards. Till the end of December, 1924, the League helped nine workmen, and it is hoped the number of people availing themselves of the League's help in this respect will considerably increase in a few months. The workmen, being illiterate and ignorant of even the ordinary procedure, require help from outside, especially in cases of permanent and temporary disablement, as claims in such cases are contested by employers, while the claims in fatal cases are generally admitted and rarely contested. The League does not charge any fees for the work; only when professional legal aid and medical examination are necessary, the party claiming the compensation has to pay the fees, which are charged at concession rates by the lawyers and doctors with whom the League has specially arranged. In some of the cases taken up by the League, the employers had in the first instances refused to pay any compensation or tried to silence the party by paying a paltry sum much less than the one legally due to the injured

workman, and but for the League's help these workmen would not have been able to secure the amounts to which they were entitled.

"The League distributed in December, 1923, about 20,000 copies of a handbill advising the millhands, in view of rumors about a general strike over the question of the annual bonus, to refrain from going on strike and to try other less drastic methods if they thought that they had a real grievance, and also pointing out the depressed condition of trade. The rumored strike did not come off then, and it appeared that the League's efforts were fruitful. In January, 1924, however, owing to the operatives' strike in a mill or two, the discontent suddenly broke out in the form of a general strike which spread like a wildfire from one mill to another on all sides, and in a few days all the mills in Bombay had to be closed. The same handbills were again distributed, and in addition two new handbills were shortly prepared and distributed among the strikers at the interval of a few days, advising them first to organize themselves into regular unions and proceed in a constitutional manner to get their grievances redressed, if they thought they were real. Also the strikers were advised to formulate their grievances in a systematic manner and adopt strictly peaceful methods in their agitation. The workers of the Institute did their utmost both publicly and privately to impress upon the strikers the necessity of observing peace. When, ow-

ing to the prolongation of the strike, a large number of people began to suffer from starvation, the necessity of affording relief to the poorest section of the millworkers' population was felt in many quarters and several measures were adopted for that purpose. The workers of the Institute helped the Strikers' Family Relief Committee, the Central Labor Board and the Millhands' Children's Relief Fund Committee in distributing relief. The Institute's workers worked in this behalf not only at the different centers of relief, but also visited a number of millhands' chawls and found out cases urgently in need of relief. Out of the money realized at the benefit performance given by the Manoranjan Mandal, the Institute's workers distributed relief to a number of families, after making house-to-house inquiries in several millhands' chawls.

"The Government having invited the League's views in regard to (1) the Workmen's Compensation Bill, (2) Industrial Statistics Bill, (3) Ventilation and Humidity in the Mills of Bombay, (4) Registration of Trade Unions Bill, (5) Trade Disputes Bill, (6) Maternity Benefits Bill and (7) Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the Sixth International Labor Conference, the Managing Committee of the League communicated their comments upon and suggestions in respect of the above seven subjects of social legislation to Government during the year."

In fact the League became so closely identified with the cause of labor that certain employers for whose mills it had for several years conducted welfare work withdrew their support. Mr. N. M. Joshi, its general secretary, is a labor representative in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, and other members of its staff have been active labor organizers.

Notwithstanding the comparatively slight industrialization of India, protective social legislation began early. The advantages of centralized government become apparent the moment one opens India's welfare-legislation history. More than forty years ago it had reached a stage which China can only dream of yet. The Government of India passed its initial factory act in 1881. This act was amended and improved in 1891. But since a growing social conscience revolted at the long hours worked, particularly in textile mills, a new act limiting the hours of labor was passed in 1911 after six years of agitation. India as a signatory to the constitution of the League of Nations became automatically a party to the International Labor Conference held in Washington in 1919, and as one of the eight countries held to be of sufficient industrial importance has been represented at each succeeding Conference. This participation in world industrial legislation necessitated further amendment and improvement of her own

factory laws. Hence the revised act of 1922 now in force.

The main provisions of this present act are as follows: It extends to the whole of British India; it applies the term "factory" to any establishment employing not less than 20 persons and using mechanical power; a local government may define as a factory any establishment employing not less than 10 persons and working with or without mechanical power. A large number of factories, mostly non-textile, previously exempted, were brought under the law.

The minimum age for employment of children was raised from 9 to 12 years, and the maximum from 14 to 15. The hours of children's work were limited to six in any one day. No child can be employed without medical certificate as to age and to fitness for factory employment, and a child may be re-examined on order for the continuance of his work. No person may work more than 11 hours in any one day nor more than 60 in any one week. All workers must have a rest period of one hour in every six, but at the option of the workers this rest may be divided into half-hour periods. Sunday work is prohibited unless other holidays in the week are provided, and no person shall work for more than ten consecutive days without holiday. No woman may be employed before 5:30 A. M. nor after 7 P. M., nor for more

than 11 hours in any one day. Except under certain specified cases for men, no person may be employed in more than one factory on the same day. Factory managers must fix the hours of employment for each person in their plants and must adhere to that schedule. Overtime work is to be compensated at the rate of at least one and one-fourth times the normal pay.

Fines for breach of the act are raised from 200 to 500 rupees and courts are given power to pay compensation to injured persons and their families out of the fines. Factory inspectors are under control of the local governments, not of the central government. They have nothing to do with industrial disputes, nor with questions of public health or safety or annoyance outside the factories, but inquiry into accidents is among their most important duties.

Apparently this legislation is effective so far as it goes. About a million-and-a-quarter workers are protected by it. The inspectorate staff is not very large, approximately thirty men; but their work seems to be careful. At any rate the complaints from organized labor are aimed in the direction of securing additional legislation rather than against the factory act or its administration. One great benefit is a decrease in the amount of child labor. The benefit would be almost immeasurably increased if the prohibition of child labor were coupled up with adequate provision for elementary education.

Indian labor is by no means satisfied with present

legislation. For example, at a recent Conference of the Bombay Provincial Trade Unions, organized by a committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, many grievances were ventilated and a long list of proposals for amelioration drawn up. The Conference called for regulation of the fining system now common in textile plants; urged passage of maternity legislation making it compulsory upon employers to grant maternity leave with maternity benefits for a period both before and after child-birth; expressed strong disapproval of the delay in passing legislation about arbitration and conciliation. The Conference requested the Government of Bombay to provide for collection of statistics concerning organized industries of the Presidency. It called for legislation limiting the number of persons per tenement-room. It passed a resolution calling for government inquiry into unemployment, and suggested the adoption of unemployment insurance, health insurance, old-age pensions, and other insurance measures. It appealed to both the provincial and the central government for local option in the direction of more drastic control of the liquor traffic. Another resolution called for a month's notice prior to discharge of an employee. Still other demands called for recognition of postal and railway employees' unions; restoration of the wage cut in the textile industry after the Government had lifted the excise tax; for workers who had served the same firm ten years, a gratuity of one

month's pay for every year of service put in. Finally the Conference expressed the opinion that whenever the employers declared a dividend above 8 per cent a bonus of at least one month's pay should be given the workers out of any surplus that might remain.

Of course not all of these demands or resolutions are of equal merit. I suppose the same might easily be said of the proceedings of an American Federation of Labor meeting, or a British Trade Union Congress. But they do represent the direction in which the wind is blowing, and they show considerable familiarity with advanced industrial legislation in the West.

The astonishing thing is that India has gone so far along the line of industrial welfare legislation with such a relatively feeble labor organization. For the labor movement is still tentative, sporadic, and spotty. Nobody seems to know just how large its membership is. Estimates range all the way from 200,000 to over a million. There seems to have been considerable growth since 1921. One need not be surprised at the lack of authentic figures if the mobile character of Indian labor is recalled. The constant movement in and out of industry baffles statistical effort. It is known, however, that there are now approximately 150 unions, provincial groupings of these unions like the Conference I have described at Bombay, and the All-India Trade Union Congress. The Indian labor movement attained national

significance only in 1920 when the first A. I. T. U. Congress was held in Bombay. The temporary organization effected there was consolidated at subsequent congresses. The agenda of the Congress at Bombay in 1925 covered many highly important resolutions for extending and improving Indian social legislation. Meanwhile a movement to amalgamate all the federations of railway men's unions gathered head at a conference in Lahore late in 1922. The new organization proposed to maintain a Central Standing Committee at Delhi to deal directly with the central Railway Board and maintain contact with the central government.

Nevertheless labor organization has been and remains extremely difficult for India. Differences in language are almost insurmountable. Differences in caste may be overcome by personnel management but are a barrier to class-consciousness or the team work necessary to labor organization. Hence the poignant significance of the resolution of the A. I. T. U. Congress of 1925 recommending that workers should refuse to treat any section of the population as untouchables, "inasmuch as untouchability impedes solidarity of the working class in this country." The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi must have breathed over that Congress.

Again, labor organization encounters totally different levels of culture which are almost impossible to amalgamate. For Indian society is divided not

only horizontally into castes, but vertically into sects, nationalities, and even races. The Santal villagers in that section of Bengal where Rabindranath Tagore's experiment in education is located are a survival of an earlier culture which has successfully resisted absorption by the Hindu; they could hardly be welded to Bengali workers. Nor do Mohammedans and Sikhs and orthodox Hindus fraternize, in spite of labor's obvious need for solidarity or Gandhi's efforts at inter-communal peace and cooperation. It remains to be seen whether Marx was right and that economic motives underly and dominate all others. Common industrial interest has not carried off a successful general strike anywhere yet, nor has it brought about any high degree of fraternization between white and negro workers in the United States. If the deep-seated antagonisms between Indian castes and cultures can be overlaid and healed through creation of working-class solidarity, India might the more heartily welcome the advent of industrialism even if it is a "devil-baby" of the West.

India lacks labor leadership of ability and seasoned experience. This matter of leadership determines the strength or tenuousness of local labor organization. For example, the textile workers of Ahmedabad are much better organized than those of Bombay, for they have had in Miss Anusuya Sarabhai an unusually devoted and skillful leader. If the energies now leaking away in a vain endeavor to rein-

state industrial mediævalism by the cult of the spinning wheel could be poured into educating leadership for both employers and workers, India would be spared many bitter experiences which the inevitable march of modern industry may bring with it.

Meanwhile not a few Indian employers are alive to their responsibilities. From some quarters a call has come for peace machinery along the lines of the English Whitley Councils. Likewise both employers and labor groups urge setting up of arbitration and conciliation procedure. For strikes are frequent, and skilled labor of the settled type desired by the large-scale employer is none too plentiful. Several conferences of directors and managers of industry have gone over these problems and others pertaining to employee welfare as well as the general good of Indian industry. Certain individual employers and mills of Bombay and Madras have gone a considerable distance along the way of welfare work. For instance, in 1922 a joint committee representing both workers and management was set up to consider conduct of welfare work among employees of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills of Madras. This committee has been continued and enlarged from time to time. It discusses and makes recommendations concerning such matters as the gratuity fund, privilege leave and absence from work, holidays, dismissals, medical examination of new employees, workmen's compensation, attendance bonuses, and apprentices.

The committee has secured a full-time medical staff, so that both the sick and injured receive prompt attention. The same doctors visit the mill villages, attend to matters of sanitation, examine children, and visit workers' homes for treatment of serious cases. Fresh-air excursions are organized. Workers are being trained in ambulance work. General "company stores" have been opened for the benefit of employees, better facilities provided for the workers to take their midday meal, lectures and meetings arranged, and a scheme worked out whereby the committee can consider and represent the opinion of the workers on legislative measures such as the Maternity Benefits Bill, or explain to them the provisions of new measures like the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The impact of industry upon India has really just begun. But because of the British Raj and a hundred years of industrial experience, India has escaped the full measure of evils which attended the earlier stages of modern industrialism in Europe and America. Some of the stigmata are, however, painfully apparent. It is doubtful if industry as such and single-handed can solve India's problem of poverty. Personally I believe India must remain predominantly agricultural for an indefinite period, and that therefore preoccupation with the needs of the cultivator is imperative. But this does not mean neglect of industrial workers, trade, banks, employment manage-

ment, or legislation for social welfare. Nor have they been overlooked. Were it not for certain facts inherent in the Indian situation, industrial history there might have been much less colored by unhappy by-products. In both China and India a tradition of passivity and resignation, overpopulation, and illiteracy have hampered industrial efficiency on the one hand, and organized labor protest on the other. China has treated the world to some surprises in the past five years. I am not alone in looking to India for contributions to a new Christianity and a new industrialism somewhat more in accord with it than we have achieved in the West.

III.

EDUCATIONAL FERMENT IN THE EAST



EDUCATIONAL FERMENT IN THE EAST

EDUCATION, in the West, is too frequently taken for granted. To the great majority it is something to be lived through as a child, to be sentimentalized about a little later, to be criticized for what it does or fails to do, and to be grumbled at in season and out for what it costs. It is safe to say that no western people reveres learning in and for itself. Not even the teaching profession takes that attitude. Nor are teachers generally looked upon with reverence or veneration. A professor enjoys a certain social distinction handed down from the days when he was usually a clergyman. Business men are quite willing now to utilize the information and the technique of the scholar even while pitying his low salary estate. Bernard Shaw voices a very common belief in his gibe: "He who can, does; he who can't, teaches."

But how different the attitude of the Orient. There education and learning are objects of almost superstitious regard. The scholar is all but a fetish; the professor comes into his own when as in India he becomes a *guru* or *rishi*. Practical-minded Japan really makes education universal as a basis for citizenship, military effectiveness, and industrial pro-

ductivity. Almost to the present moment classical learning has been the passport to political preferment in China. Even those Chinese who consider Wu Pei Fu a failure as a military commander still respect him as the greatest scholar of all the rival *tuchuns*. And in India the whole Brahmin caste is based upon learning and has retained its supremacy by zealously guarding its age-old stores of wisdom. In the East learning is prestige; to certain western business men it is a weakness to be foresworn. In the latter case the attitude may be a "defence mechanism" or an "inferiority-complex"; in the other it is part of a traditional social organization.

Notwithstanding the eastern reverence for learning, two facts stand out as almost startling contradictions, namely, the appalling illiteracy of India and China, and the avidity with which western learning is sought after and absorbed. Why? Is it because the Orient is "static" and senses the need for an infusion of western "dynamic"? I doubt if nations and peoples are so articulate as to work consciously for such an end. Is cross-fertilization of cultures "in the nature of things"? The opposite is equally true: witness the mental Chinese Wall which held Japan and China closed to the West until less than a century ago. I do not believe that the great masses in China or India sense their need of education as such. But undoubtedly certain groups became impregnated

with western ideas through missionary effort, foreign commerce, and the migration of students to the schools of Europe and America. A demand thus created tends to radiate somewhat by imitation, more by perception of certain tangible benefits.

The infiltration of new languages, particularly English, and the contact with western travelers, books, traders, and missionary teachers yielded at least four major ideas; the tradition of democracy, the sentiment of nationalism, the transforming magic of applied science, and the potentialities of modern industrialism. The results of the interplay of these ideas lead me to hazard two questions which sound almost like affirmations. First, are not nationalism, national sentiment, consciousness, and unity in the Orient apparently in direct ratio to education and industrialization? Second, can universal education be correlated with the degree of industrialization? Such a correlation holds true for the West with the exception of Scandinavia; American immigration policy recognizes it; and it apparently holds true for Japan, China, and India.

The literacy situation in Japan clearly revealed itself in the figures cited earlier (p. 69). Here I need only repeat that over 99 per cent of Japanese children between the ages of six and fourteen are attending school, and that somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent of the total population of all ages are

under instruction. Hence we need express no surprise to find the following paragraph in a report of the Imperial Department of Education last year:

“There is no village or hamlet in Japan where we do not find people reading, and there are very few even among the poorest class, who cannot express their thoughts in writing. This fact is clearly proved by the proficiency tests given at the annual examinations for conscription. In these examinations it is found that not more than one per cent of the youths of conscription age lack the knowledge of the three R’s, and the great majority of them are those who are physically or mentally deficient or those who dwell in remote islands.”

Further evidence appears in the enormous number of magazines and newspapers, some of them with circulations running over the million mark. Everywhere you go in Japan you run into magazine stalls and book stores; everywhere people are buying books and reading them.

Contrast this situation with China where less than 10 per cent of the population can read; or with India where the last available census showed that less than 6 per cent of the people (11.4 per cent of males, 1.1 per cent of females) could read and write.

It is not my intention to give an educational history of any one of these three countries, nor even an elaborate analysis. The encyclopedias and official reports are for that purpose. I shall be frankly im-

pressionistic and cover only those details which interested me and which may not appear in formal treatises.

So far as Japan is concerned the outstanding impressions I brought away were the seriousness with which the Japanese go after educational matters, the amalgam of occidental ideas, the emphasis upon technical education, the ardent cultivation of patriotism, the deflection of art teaching toward ultra-modernism, the official fear of radicalism in the guise of social science, and the cordial embracing of western athletics.

The Japanese are a self-controlled people. My missionary friends say that even a crowd of holiday-makers well primed with *sake* keep their hilarity quite within bounds. Certainly business is a serious affair. I well remember the grave procession of officers and directors of a big factory near Osaka which trailed along after us through the works, following a sober ritual of reception in the executive offices. And education is of even more solemn concern, probably because of an intense conviction of its effectiveness as social control and industrial potency; partly too because of a feverish desire to overcome the handicap of illiteracy under which the country suffered until the Meiji era. One index of the serious and deliberate attack upon mass-ignorance is the number and quality of school buildings; another, the normal schools for preparing teachers adequately;

still another, the large number of male teachers. Teaching seems still to be an honored profession for men, even in elementary schools, and is not a mere stepping stone to the law or medicine or politics.

The teaching of English and German in particular, the importation of vast quantities of foreign, technological books, and the translation of many foreign texts in the physical and social sciences, together with a ceaseless stream of students, government commissions, and business executives coursing through America and Europe have laid the basis for technical education and creative scholarship in the exact sciences. The Japanese are relentless in pursuit of exact information. Our English friends in the Ministry of Labor or in social welfare work say there is only one inquiring person they fear more than an American and that is a Japanese. Yet that is the way cultures are cross-fertilized. The interrogative mood is vastly more conducive to international peace and progress than the declarative or exclamatory.

It may well be that the development of an intense national sentiment is the secret of the solidarity and rapid rise of the Japanese Empire. At any rate wherever one turns there is tangible evidence that the cult of patriotism is no mere idle phrase. It takes its most obvious form in the national religion of Shintoism, which is almost as deliberately carpentered as was Auguste Comte's Positivism, although incompar-

ably more successful. But the Japanese take nothing for granted; they are quite as well versed in the psychology of early childhood and adolescence as were the teaching followers of Ignatius Loyola. Hence their use of the public schools as generators of patriotism. It is taught not only through shaping of textbooks and classroom exercises; but even more effectively by pilgrimages to national shrines and historic centers.

I shall never forget the clatter of thousands of children's wooden sandals on the railroad platforms wherever we went. It seemed as if another Children's Crusade were on foot. It was a crusade for the upbuilding of national sentiment. Teachers shepherding their flocks were drilling their little charges in the equivalents of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill and Gettysburg. The railroads, by grants of incredibly reduced rates, facilitate these pilgrimages. The short distances and an efficient railway service are no inconsiderable aids. What we in the West do more or less sporadically is a cardinal part of Japanese popular education.

I have sometimes asked Japanese students if their schools enjoy "freedom of teaching" — *akademische Freiheit*. The general reply is, Yes, in so far as direct interference within the classroom is concerned. But the slant of instruction is pretty carefully controlled in at least three ways: by scrutinizing appointments, by censoring or editing schoolbooks, and

sometimes by overt police action. There is a stern resolve to keep Bolshevism at bay; hence frequently governmental authorities lean over backwards in their efforts to suppress any hint of radicalism among students. The social sciences are taught and Japanese scholars have made contributions to them. But the mistake (not unknown in America) of confusing sociology with socialism is still too common. Thus while we were in Kyoto the police broke up a so-called Sociology Club at the Imperial University there. Here is how an Osaka newspaper described the affair:

SCIENCE STUDY SOCIETIES ROUNDED UP

The police authorities in Kyoto have their hands full restricting student organizations for study of social science in Kyoto. Ever since the promulgation of the Police Regulation Act, and especially in compliance with instructions of Mr. Okada, education minister, the Kyoto police, regarding as objectionable all student organizations of this nature, have tried to root them out. Recently, the police authorities have found that the members of the Jugatsukai, an organization of students of Doshisha University, had been in close touch with local Socialists, and had engaged in various socialistic propaganda on the street.

While the police were contemplating some means to suppress the Jugatsukai, similar organizations, like a fire, have almost simultaneously sprung up in the Kyoto Imperial University and the Third Higher School. It is said that some students of the Third Higher School were recently arrested

by the police when the Russian labor delegation came to Japan. At the Third Higher School, when an organization called the "Shinkakai" was disbanded, eight students who came in clash with the school authorities were indefinitely suspended.

"These organizations are only a few examples. There are still several others soon to be cleaned up," said a Kyoto police official in charge, regretting the evil tendency of thought among students.

These evidences of post-war reaction were reinforced by the successful attempt of the ministry of war to get the ministry of education to introduce military training into elementary schools. The educational authorities at first insisted that the plan must not be primarily to give school children military training but to implant in their minds the teamwork necessary to make them good citizens, and to train their thought to resist further spread of so-called "dangerous thought." As a bargaining point they proposed that this training should reduce the conscription period four and a half months. Characteristically the war authorities objected, holding that additional military training was the real purpose of the plan. They won out in spite of opposition from both students and parents.

This rigid conservatism has, however, not prevented a well-defined peace movement. Foreign critics declare that Japan would not be a poor country if she spent less of her annual income on the military

and naval machine; about 50 per cent of the budget goes now for that purpose, money which would build roads and make other public improvements. Signs are not wanting that many Japanese are of the same mind. A recent cross-sampling of Japanese students of military age revealed only two out of a hundred who wished to go into the army or navy. Volunteers for military service are scanty. Throughout the country a persistent demand goes up for reducing the period of military service, cutting down the size of the standing army, and paring the war budget. Military honors count less and less toward political success. The scheme hatched jointly by the ministries of war and education for a voluntary continuation course in military and citizenship training for youths who left school at an early age broke down in six months. Ostensibly it was an 800-hour course running over four years, designed to aid national defense and confer the citizenship education necessitated by passage of the universal manhood-suffrage law. At first the response was enthusiastic, but within four months more than half the youth who had volunteered dropped out. Many reasons were offered, but there is general agreement that the basic trouble was militarism — too much military and too little citizenship or vocational training, and a refusal by the war minister to make good on his implied promise that students who elected this voluntary training would have their military service materially reduced.

Nor has this spirit of reaction prevented close sympathy and comradeship between many university men and the labor movement. Making common cause with the underprivileged is a shining characteristic of outstanding mission-college teachers and administrators. For example, the Dean of Kobe College, one of the most delightful discoveries of our whole journey, has recently resigned to take up the poorly paid pastorate of an institutional church in a working-class neighborhood of Osaka. The spirit of Edward Denison and Arnold Toynbee, Stanton Coit and Jane Addams moves upon the surface of Japanese higher education.

After a visit to the annual art exhibition in Tokyo one asks with astonishment, "But where is the Japanese art?" For here are rooms full of paintings and sculpture signed by Japanese names but betraying French or English or German origin. I jotted down two dozen names of noted exhibitors in the modern method: Kobyashi, Suzuki, Nemoto, Kobori, Shiboya, Saburi, Fumiko, Takahashi, Chikuma, Kaneko, Takabataki, Takamoto, Kamiya, Kawai, Younoki, Hattori-Rydei, Mikodoyoshi, Nakasawa, Takamura, Tenji, Yoshida, Sanzo, Tanabe, Hideta; all good Japanese names and only half of those I might have given. And I could have recruited a score from the sculpture section, adding a lot of Rodins and Meuniers to the Monets and Manets, the Matisses and Picassos, the Bougeraus and the Cez-

annes masquerading under Japanese names. There are still some workers in the traditional styles, but the tide has so definitely set in the western direction that an organization was formed to stem it.

Everywhere you see art students chasing European methods. In Kyoto I went to an art-materials shop, hunting for Japanese water colors. There were none in evidence, although I saw an abundance of French and English oil colors, brushes, palette knives, and other paraphernalia. The shop was so crowded with eager student purchasers that we tired of waiting and walked out to hunt elsewhere. Finally we found these native colors in a small stationery shop. In that same Kyoto, ancient capital of Nipponese art, a picture dealer's shop in the very center of the art district was packed with ultra-modern imitations (or "inspirations" as one of my Japanese women friends put it) of European art: even the subjects were European, Venice for example. Long-haired fellows with Windsor ties and Latin Quarter hats pulled down over their eyes strut about just as in Paris. We found two of them even at sacred old Nara, painting atrociously in the western manner in the famous deer park. The Imperial Art School in Kyoto and other art schools, together with the system of art teaching in the elementary schools seem responsible for the almost complete eclipsing of the antique indigenous art with which we of the West have associated the name Japanese.

Somewhat the same split appears in the domestic arts. Formerly home-keeping was a rather intricate ritual. Some westernized Japanese have gone frankly and completely over to occidental standards. A young dentist in Osaka, recently returned from many years in America, told me his first savings were going into a "real American bed." Some households are on a dual basis, half the house built and equipped in foreign, half in Japanese style. Frequently the men maintain a double wardrobe, European for street and business wear, Japanese for the home. Such transition measures are costly. These shifts in domestic *mores* make demands upon education. Hence schools like Doshisha University give double-headed instruction in domestic science, one class for westernized homes, the other for the Japanese traditional home.

The Japanese people are said to be gaining in stature. Usually this is attributed to their breaking with the old custom of sitting on the floor. But I should add two other plausible explanations, namely an improved standard of living and the intense preoccupation with athletic sports. Nowhere even in pre-war Germany have I seen such devotion to *la vie au grand air* as in Japan. You find sporting-goods shops everywhere, sport costumes, knickers, alpenstocks, *Rücksacken*, and the greatest variety of athletic implements. The roads teem with Boy Scouts and hiking clubs. Tennis invades even temple grounds

and military precincts. Almost countless town and college baseball teams set the pace for the small-boy, back-alley games, just as in America, save for the kimonos. Huge stadiums mark this "athletic progress"—the more's the pity. Americans are familiar with the prowess of the Japanese in tennis and baseball. But I confess I did not know how thoroughly our national game had captured Nippon until I found even the familiar baseball slang in the newspapers. Here is a sample from the *Osaka Mainichi*:

WASEDA FINALLY BEATS MEIJI U.

Takeuchi, Waseda's Pitching Ace, Splendidly Controls Baseball Situation

The highly touted Waseda University's powerful hitting machine won the Waseda-Meiji baseball series by shutting out the opposing nine to the tune of 4-0 in the deciding fray fought at the Komazawa diamond on Tuesday afternoon before a huge crowd which literally packed the inside and the outside of the ball park. Takeuchi, of Waseda, was the master of the situation, completely taming down the dangerous Meiji sluggers as he did in the first battle of the three game series, supported by an air tight defense by his team mates.

Though finally brought down to his knees, Yuasa, greatest hurler who ever donned the black and white Meiji uniform, was in no way to blame for the defeat, holding the chucking job in his usual crafty form. Only the Goddess of

Victory had not willed this chap to pull out such a miraculous stunt as to drive the Waseda nine off its winning stride, pitching in three consecutive games without a rest.

2 Runs in 1st Inning

With the breaks of the game on its side, Waseda made two runs in the first inning, chiefly due to hard luck on Yuasa's part, and finally gave Meiji a knock-out blow in the form of another two tallies in the sixth canto, which was again caused by the misfortune of Nidegawa's wild peg.

Except the two bad innings, the two nines battled evenly, this time Meiji showing a punch in the pinches as it did in the second encounter. As a whole, the game was a good pitching duel between the two leading hurlers in Japan. Only the Meiji boys failed to score, letting a couple of bright chances in the eighth and the ninth stanzas slip away, while their opponents got the best of the day. Waseda's winning runs were made as follows:

When the game was opened with Waseda first at bat, Yamazaki walked after 1-3 balls. Nemoto flied out once, failing to bunt, and then without swinging at a strike. Mizuhara grounded. Yuasa picked it up, and tossed it to first, but the ball hit Mizuhara, and rolled away, allowing Yamazaki to rush down to third, with Mizuhara also safe at first. At this early visitation of a fat chance, Iguchi, who had been on a terrible batting slump of late, unexpectedly clouted out a two bagger, hitting the first ball pitched, scoring two runs. With the two runs, Waseda got a commanding lead, enabling its loved ones to play easy and hard. Kawai was struck out. Then, Yuasa's wild pitch advanced Iguchi to third, but Yuasa redeemed himself by letting Himuro ground out to third.

Final Damage to Meiji

The next and final damage to the Meiji machine took place in the sixth inning. Iguchi flied out. Kawai grounded out to short. Himuro singled, and stole second on Yuasa's slow ball, Seki walked. Two downs, two men on bases. Yuasa appeared not a bit rattled. Takeuchi made a scratch hit over second. Yasuda sent a sizzling grasscutter to right, and the bases were all loaded. Nidegawa unfortunately made an irredeemable error at this critical moment, pegging the pellet to first a bit too wild, allowing two Waseda runners safely to scamper across the plate. The inning ended when Yamazaki forced out Yasuda at second.

Enraged by the mishap, the Meiji players came back with blood in their eyes, trying to stage their famous ninth inning rally, but their bombardment netted no score this time, and lost the series.

Sports, art, and technology! What more conclusive evidence could you ask of the process of cultural amalgamation going on between Japan and the West? No wonder the Japanese take their education seriously. For by it, as with an Archimedes lever, they have raised themselves in two generations to world power and an honored place in the council of the nations.



Only a reckless soul indeed would attempt to say what is the state of education in China today. Perhaps the Chinese themselves are least able to speak authoritatively. Events have reeled themselves off with such speed in the last two years that even those

in closest professional contact with educational matters are to be excused for a certain open-eyed bewilderment. Yet in spite of all, certain facts remain clear. First, that nine-tenths of the Chinese are illiterate. Second, that there is no common spoken language except English. Third, that whatever one may think of the religious work of the missionaries, their educational work has been a triumph. Fourth, that the younger Chinese leaders are keenly aware of their country's need and are working for mass education through the "thousand character alphabet," for a literary renaissance, and for national unity. Fifth, that Chinese school finances are in a deplorable state. Sixth, that technical education has barely begun. Finally, that the Chinese student movement has been largely provocative rather than constructive.

The literacy problem is so apparent that I need not linger over it. Class distinctions and national disunity have been fostered by the enormous difficulty of the Chinese written language, which sealed it up to all but the leisured few. This accounts for the almost feverish haste to spread the "thousand character" movement among the people. That such a short-cut is practicable was made clear by the municipal industrial school for the beggar boys of Peking: these waifs learn the language in a few months. Meanwhile English remains the common tongue, an unanswerable argument for the success

of missions. The acting Chancellor of the National University in Peking poured out his ardent patriotism upon me, heaped up mountains of criticism against the foreigner and many of his ways, but at the end of it, smiled and said, "After all it is embarrassing to confess that if I want to talk with a fellow-Chinese from the South, say Canton, I must speak in English." It is significant that Eugene Chen, left-wing Nationalist foreign minister of the "Hankow Government" speaks no Chinese. His negotiations with those fellow-Chinese who do not speak English must be carried on through interpreters! And Chen has been chief spokesman for the new China-for-the-Chinese movement. We shall find this same dependence upon English to an even greater degree in India.

Missionaries in China are by no means agreed as to their accomplishment. The "strike" against the British schools was in full swing at the end of 1925. Some teachers rejoiced that the Chinese students had enough spirit to go on strike. Others thought the strikes and anti-Christian student movement a rebuke to the Church for having turned aside to education instead of sticking to preaching the gospel. There seems to be no good reason to doubt that most of the impulse towards social reconstruction, the democratic temper, and national unity has come out of mission schools, directly or indirectly. This is what has so alarmed some of the missionaries, who per-

haps failed to foresee the logic of their own teachings. Neither is there any doubt that mission colleges and schools were working toward an ideal of preparing native teachers to take over both the instruction and the administration of the schools. Recent events have attempted to do by violence what was already in train by constructive methods.

The student movement is still in swing, hence a final judgment would be impertinent. So far its chief value has been the generating of national sentiment. Too often student groups have behaved like some workers' groups: they have heckled and obstructed, indulged in wild demands, sometimes in naively Marxian terminology, and wanted to "boss" without being willing to assume full responsibility. Protest mobs have included many students, but few of them enter the armies, either Nationalist or their opponents. The demands they made even upon such a liberal outpost as Yali (Yale-in-China) in Changsha indicate their jejune thinking: No student was to be dismissed without their consent; no faculty appointment made without their approval; teachers to be dismissed by vote of the student body. But who was to pay the bills? There was and always is the rub.

Chinese finance in general is pretty hopeless, but school finances reveal the situation almost at its worst. Only an astute diplomat like Dr. Chiang Men Liu of the old Imperial (now the National) University in Peking could weather the disturbed

political seas of the capital and fish up money for his institution. Professorial salaries were many months in arrears. Teachers of the common schools had in many cases received nothing for a year to eighteen months, yet struggled loyally on, hoping for quieter times. The Chinese teacher is far worse off than the Chinese soldier, who can desert to a rival general's army or turn bandit when pay fails.

Meanwhile great educational forces like the Commercial Press of Shanghai continue to function. This is one of the greatest centers of learning in the whole "Inner Kingdom," for it prints most of the school books in common use. It translates and edits foreign books of all sorts. It is partly responsible for the modernizing of Chinese art, for it prints the color studies used as the basis for art instruction in the public schools. No wonder then that China, like Japan, is producing its crop of little Cezannes, Vlamincks, and Sargents.

General Feng Yu-hsien's army is also an educational center: at any rate three of his requirements are that the recruit shall save part of his wages, get some of the rudiments of common education, including sound gymnastic training, and receive religious instruction. For this latter purpose Feng created his own training institution for chaplains. The result was a law-abiding, reliable, and admirably set-up army, in whose presence merchants continue to do business as usual, and the civilian population in general move about as under the shelter of a great rock.

The population problem of China takes on various educational implications. Birth control, said a professor of economics at the National University, is bound to sweep China and solve the problem. Birth control, said a charming Chinese doctor — the most articulate woman I met in the whole Orient — cannot affect China until the sex of children can be predetermined. The ubiquitous ancestor-cult! Union with Japan to force the West to lower its barriers against oriental immigration was the solution proposed by a serious sociology student at Yen Ching University. But he was out-voted by his fellows when I asked him how long it would take Chinese loins to replace the ten or fifty million emigrants who meanwhile would have wrecked western labor's hard-won standards of living. Industrialization, say other students of the problem, and the sooner the better.

But to my mind the keenest and most realistic student of the problem is Dr. Yu Tin Hugh, president of the so-called Eastern University in Peking. He holds that China is not overpopulated, but that, as in Japan and elsewhere, population is badly distributed. Therefore he proposes redistribution, colonization within the borders of China itself. His institution exists for the explicit purpose of training people to colonize Western China, Mongolia, and Tibet. General Feng has given encouragement to the plan within the territory he controls. This particular institution may not succeed, but it is a pathfinder not only towards the stability and prosperity of China but also to the world's peace.

The immediate future of political China is clouded. Whatever the reasons, whether Russian intrigue, racial incompatibility, or sheer ineptitude, the Nationalist movement for territorial and cultural unity seems to have lost its momentum. Yet such powers as be seem anxious to make amends for the temporary crippling of business and education. Missionaries are being urged to return to their inland posts and to resume education as usual. Regardless, however, of a temporary political relapse, the old order has passed. Its passing is an educational victory, but only the first in the long series which must be won before the new order replaces the transitional chaos.



Mahatma Gandhi implies that the English are in India because the Indians do not know any better than to want and keep them there. To many people the mystery is why they want to stay there. Conscienceless commercial exploitation one can understand; pride of possession also; missionary yearning over possible new millions of souls for Christ, no less. But confronted with mountainous responsibilities for maintaining internal peace, mediating between hostile sects, reclaiming through irrigation vast desert areas, stamping out endemic disease, holding up semibarbarous border tribes to some

semblance of law and order, the prospect of trying to communicate even the rudiments of education to an illiterate mass of 315,000,000 souls might well give pause to the sturdiest imperialist and even cause him to "down tools" and run for it. Small wonder then that the Indian air is full of outcries against the educational system as it is, against the British administration for what it does, as well as for what it is not doing, against the caste system for bolstering the Brahmin monopoly on learning, against the sects for playing school politics, against the tendency of Indian youth to seek soft jobs, which hinders development of technical and agricultural education.

A few figures will state India's school problem in bold outline. Less than 6 per cent of the people are literate. Less than 3 per cent of the total population are undergoing instruction as compared with about three times that number in England, or 20 per cent in the United States or Japan. In 1920 one out of every 57 of the total population of the United States was attending a secondary school as against one in every 206 in British India in 1918; in 1920 our colleges and universities enrolled one out of every 204 of our population, while the Indian ratio stood at one to every 3920 in 1918.

The amount of annual revenue available for education is depressingly inadequate — approximately \$66,000,000 as compared with the \$1,600,000,000 we spend every year in the United States with only

one-third the population of India; and we grumble at the niggardliness of our educational finance. Reduced to still lower terms, the comparative account stands thus: In 1922 we spent \$14.47 per capita of the total population on public elementary and secondary schools in continental United States. British India at approximately the same time was spending an average of only *twenty-seven cents* per head on its 247,000,000 inhabitants. Except in Bombay, Baroda, and a few other centers there is no compulsory attendance. The rural districts, where 90 per cent of the people live, are particularly difficult to reach. Living is on such a pitifully narrow margin that children are drafted off to work or, if they are girls, married off at an early school age.

Elementary education for children is hard enough to achieve, but the problem of education for the adults, among whom has been sown a new hope of citizenship and economic improvement, is vastly more difficult. Most baffling and desperate of all is the education of women. Childhood marriage, the system of *purdah*, the resignation to their lot, twenty centuries and more of the Laws of Manu, and fossilized custom all combine to prevent the inarticulate masses of Indian women from registering an effective demand. Mission schools, particularly the *Zenana* schools have done remarkable work; the Tagores and other Brahmo-Somaj families have pioneered the way for the freedom and enlighten-

ment of women; and the foreign education of Indian men has given new standards for the status and treatment of women. Some of these men whom I know have taught their wives English and other subjects.

The Mohammedan community, numbering about one-third the total of British India, has been and still is notoriously backward educationally. Not one Moslem girl out of ten thousand is educated, recently declared a prominent woman teacher, a follower of the Prophet; and among 30,000,000 Mohammedans in Bengal, she continued, there is only one woman university graduate. A little knowledge of Urdu and the Koran are considered quite sufficient equipment for a female. Competition for public office and the growing need for leaders which comes with the gradual extension of responsibility for self-government has forced the Mohammedans out of their apathy and bred a growing concern for education. The Moslem University at Aligarh, an Islamic College in Calcutta, and increased facilities for higher education in other centers, even the squabbles over local school matters between Moslems and Hindus, signify a new alertness.

In spite of the boding depressants in the Indian educational situation there are elements of decided encouragement. During the ten-year period which included the Great War, 1909 to 1918, the enrollment at Indian universities and colleges more than

doubled; secondary schools increased 50 per cent, and elementary schools about 36 per cent. Constructive Nationalist leaders recognize more and more the long-range nature of India's problem of self government and the consequent need for building from the bottom. One of the most far-seeing of these patriots — a Bengali John Hancock — confessed to me, "It may take fifty years, and we must begin with education." The influence of caste is declining somewhat in the colleges. Tagore and Gandhi agree at least in teaching tolerance. Scientific agriculture begins to receive more attention. The mass movements toward Christianity in South India and the Punjab are a challenge to both education and religion. The gradual growth of European industrialism and the quite perceptible upswing of native smaller-scale industries are creating little by little broader opportunities for technical education.

An explanatory word about the educational history of British India is essential to a proper evaluation of the present set-up. In the eighteenth century the East India Company was averse to the introduction of western learning and attempted to foster the traditional ancient learning. Early in the nineteenth century private individuals like David Hare of Calcutta joined with Indians in founding centers for spreading western secular learning. The missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were powerful educational factors, in spite of opposition

from officials of the East India Company, who said they preferred a band of devils to a band of missionaries. By 1835 the Government accepted the principle of western education, not only tolerated it and even subsidized private institutions, but went a step farther by establishing its own college with instruction in English. Within ten years English had displaced Persian as the official language of the courts and preference for government appointments began to be given to men with westernized training.

The hand of Macaulay seen in these changes has rested firmly on the organization of Indian education ever since. When it once became fully apparent that the British were to be dominant in the Indian peninsula and that the problem was no longer to police private trading companies but to erect an imperial government, the need for developing a trained civil staff was urgent. Hence the emphasis upon the "cultural," liberal-arts type of education rather than upon scientific and technological subjects and methods. With English the language of the courts and of official intercourse, the natural tendency was to look toward England, and even toward English universities and the English bar for advancement in law or letters. Exceptional men like Bose, with strong bends toward pure science, also sought the great English scientific centers.

More recently it has become increasingly common for young Indians to look to America for train-

ing in the practical arts — agriculture, electrical engineering, mining. And many of those with inclinations toward left-wing and revolutionary movements have sought in America intellectual munitions in the fields of political science, economics, and even pedagogy. However, our immigration laws, court decisions on naturalization of Hindus, and general undiscriminating attitude on the color question have deterred many Indian students from coming to the United States. Time after time I was asked by students in different parts of India if Americans are prejudiced against Hindus and why. For they are anxious to come, not only for the specific educational experience, but also in many cases as a gesture of protest against Britain.

It is difficult to say what is India's most pressing educational problem. The universities are the most obvious targets for criticism. But secondary schools and some so-called professional schools have been rather painfully inadequate, to put it mildly. And for a dozen reasons elementary education would easily claim first attention. However, for reasons of space and professional competency, I shall speak chiefly of the universities.

Indian higher education comprises at least five or six types of college or university. First, the examining university, like Calcutta or Madras, modelled roughly on the University of London. Up to the report in 1919, of the so-called Sadler Commission,

the Calcutta University Commission, most Indian universities were more or less of this type. The "university" was not a teaching body but an examining syndicate, covering a system of affiliated colleges which prepared students for the degree examinations. Little or no work of real university grade was done. The criticisms of the Commission were very specific as to conditions at Calcutta, and by implication in other universities: fundamentally defective in almost every respect; too many students (26,000 in Calcutta); too much scattered through affiliated colleges with varying standards; too many administrative functions; too much reliance on mere passing of examinations; examination standards too low; teachers underpaid; instruction mechanical; students' living conditions bad for health, morals, or work. It was common report that Calcutta students were reduced to living even in brothels. However much exaggeration publicity added to the report, the scandal was unsavory enough.

The report had almost immediate effect. Condemnation of the examining university favored the teaching or residential type like Edinburgh and the American universities, or grouped residential colleges like Oxford and Cambridge. Finances permitting, the newer Indian universities like Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi, and Nagpur have followed the Commission's recommendations. Lucknow, like Oxford, Harvard, or Columbia, has a woman's college af-

filiated, Isabella Thoburn College. It has been much harder for the older, established universities to get out of their tangles. Those of the Punjab, Madras, and Bombay have made fair adjustments. But Calcutta still drags behind. Some institutions like Allahabad have gone part way but remain as dual types, combining residential and examining features. Madras has not completely emerged from this third type. In certain areas like the United Provinces where population is somewhat thinner and colleges scattered, the proposal for an examining type of university at Agra may finally be agreed to or compromised upon this dual type.

A fourth type cuts across this classification scheme, following distinctly religious cleavages. Thus Benares, the Hindu university, and Aligarh, the Moslem, are residential; but despite their avowal that students of any faith may enter, their sectarian slant is apparent. The Sikhs of the Punjab are aware of this fact and have been pressing for their own university in addition to their distinctly denominational Khalsa College at Amritsar.

In the fifth group may be placed the missionary colleges, like Forman at Lahore, Wilson of Bombay, the American College at Madura, St. Xavier's at Calcutta, and other Catholic institutions. Such colleges may or may not be affiliated with examining universities, or they may amalgamate with residential universities, as Isabella Thoburn College has be-

come the women's branch of Lucknow University. These colleges are self-contained and administered through their respective denominational organizations. They are subject to governmental control or inspection only in so far as they may receive subsidies from Provincial funds.

Finally there is a miscellaneous group of teaching institutions, scarcely organized to the point of becoming colleges or universities in the strict sense. For example, Mrs. Besant's theosophical center at Adyar, just outside Madras, limits its activities pretty closely to theosophy and occult "sciences" bordering on it. Its magnificent library of oriental manuscripts is its chief glory and constitutes its chief claim to scholarship. The Aryo-Somaj college at Lahore is not a full-program college but rather a center for promoting traditional Hindu learning. Gandhi's *asram* at Ahmedabad is merely an informal center of discipleship such as St. Benedict or Ignatius Loyola might have created. Tagore's schools at Santiniketan are primarily centers for free experimentation and demonstration. Tagore refuses any government subsidy in order to be free and to maintain the spirit of spontaneity and self-motivation in students and teachers. Here are gathered about 250 students, ranging in age from eight or ten up to greyhaired professional scholars. Most of the boys and girls are recruited from good families and admitted by intelligence tests.

Santiniketan feels that its first duty is toward the better endowed, for the new India demands trained leaders. At the farm school high-caste youth and low-caste village boys work together at carpentry, weaving, tanning, gardening, dairying, raising poultry, growing cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, pineapples, and other crops for experimental and demonstration purposes for the special benefit of the Santal villages in a five-mile radius. Most of the teachers are Indians, enthusiasts, devoted to the ideals of peace, freedom, *noblesse oblige*, self-help, beauty, and the enrichment of personality, without compulsion or the paraphernalia of formal discipline or intricate organization. Art, music, philosophy, and research in the Sanskrit classics are stressed. Classes are small and held anywhere. I sketched one group studying economic history, sitting on the ground in a circle under a big mango tree. In another class some of the boys had climbed up into the tree and leaned down listening, like Zaccheus, the tax gatherer. Elsewhere a professor was expounding geometry to his single pupil, a little girl. Instruction is almost tutorial, prohibitively costly in nearly any country but India, where teachers' salaries are still low, and in any school except institutions conducted by religious orders or by disciples of great teachers like Tagore or Gandhi.

The spirit of Santiniketan has attracted teachers and scholars from all over the world. C. F. An-

draws ("Christ's Faithful Apostle" as some of his loyal Indian friends call him), who deserted the classics at Delhi to cast his lot with Tagore is perhaps the leading non-Indian member of the community. He is a permanent element. The others come and go. Amongst them we encountered Professor Kenneth Saunders, the eminent Buddhist scholar from California; Professor Bake and his wife from Amsterdam, teaching western music and studying ancient Sanskrit music; a young Chinese scholar, two Italians, a French-Swiss, and one or two English.

Professor Carlo Formichi, the great Sanskrit scholar from Rome, represents the high peak of research activity and mediation between East and West. Well do I remember sitting on the hard floor listening to this vivacious Italian, attired in faultless Prince Albert coat, deliver the results of his study of Sanskrit texts. In English as careful as his dress he took India to task for allowing Brahmin priestcraft to obscure the great idea of Atman (Soul) and for tolerating such an admixture of idiocy and superstition with the beauty and deep spiritual insight of some of the Hindu classics. Next morning we met him at the Guest House, in ordinary dress, leading a pet — but very nervous and inquisitive — mongoose, which had been known to bite his learned master. Such is the simple, almost monastic life of Santiniketan.

These independent teaching centers, particularly

Santiniketan, because they are unshackled by meticulous governmental regulations, standardized programs, and over-organization may yield richly for Indian education. For Tagore's plan combines in some degree ideas implicit in "free schools" like Bedales in England, in the Collège de France and in the New School for Social Research in New York. The others at least offer a "margin of refusal" to conform with set patterns, and an element of dissent is necessary social leavening.

Is it possible to formulate any judgments on the century of Indian higher education? Without doubt certain general effects are pretty well agreed upon. In the first place there seems to be no question that India represents the traditional Liberal Arts college gone to seed. This is what critics mean when they say Indian education is top-heavy. The overwhelming emphasis on a narrow B. A. program limits the students' vocational choice. Say what you will, and for whatever country you speak, the Arts college program has and always has had a vocational outlook: for women, teaching, literary activity, or more or less the "companionate" type of marriage; for men, preparation for law or teaching or the ministry, for the *otium cum dignitate* of a country gentleman, politics, or miscellaneous clerical jobs.

The landed gentry of India are not conspicuous at the universities. They can compass their needs at such a gentleman's finishing institution as Colvin Tal-

ugdars' School in Lucknow where British rulers and Indian *Zemindars* fraternize and demonstrate their community of taste for sports and pageantry and tea. The bar claims a prodigious number of India's best young minds, and college degrees have high capital value. Wherever you go you find doctors and lawyers advertising their talents. The biggest house and the most spacious grounds in an Indian town generally advertise their ownership by a Barrister or *Vakil*, for at the street entrance you will find a large signboard with the proprietor's various degrees and offices. So avid is the Indian mind for degrees and so worshipful of western learning that one lawyer is reported to have shamelessly painted on his signboard "B. A. *Blank* University, failed!"

But the chief end of the Indian university is apparently to increase the number of *Babus* available for clerkships and government service. The climate, tradition, and social ideals unite in promoting the appeal of "soft jobs." Hence India swarms with B. A.'s in search of 30-rupee clerkships. I have even seen advertisements offering service at less than 30 rupees per month. This cheapening of "mental workers" tends to ossify public service, hampers utilization of efficient office methods, and to the mind of the Nationalists constitutes a barrier to Indian independence and self-government.

But mere railing will not change this situation. The extension of technical education will create a

new vocational avenue and relieve the traffic congestion on the narrow, Liberal Arts vocational highway. Indian leaders perceive this need for scientific and technological education. But they also recognize that the fulfillment of their vision depends upon two things, first, expansion of industrial opportunity, both European and native; second, acceptance of the idea that Indian agriculture can be raised to the level of applied science.

The army of young Indian chemists, mechanical and electrical engineers returning from their training in England, Germany, and America constitutes a teaching body as well as the nucleus of professional groupings. Newer educational institutions like the Bengal Technical Institute, created by the National Educational Council, a group of ardent Nationalists, have been quick to capitalize this technical talent. Here I found former students from Harvard, Michigan, and Illinois, teaching a growing student body now numbering 600, with enough zeal and enthusiasm to make up for poverty of income and inadequate laboratory equipment. This institution, which began over twenty years ago as a protest against government schools, is demonstrating the ability of Hindus to organize and finance educational enterprises and the possibilities of rigorous technical education by Indians for Indians. Little by little these young technologists are getting hold of capital and setting up small industrial plants on their own account.

Many of them fail, but a sufficient number succeed to serve as pathfinders. A good many intelligent Hindu leaders resent the Moslem domination of educational policy, particularly because the Moham-medans have been unsympathetic to technical education. What a fall from the proud tradition of Arabic science when Baghdad was the educational capital of the world!

It is commonly believed and asserted that the Indian mind is hospitable to speculation, theology, and philosophy but that for its very efflorescence of imagination, it is unadapted to the rigors of exact science. This is an error, if not a libel. For Sir J. C. Bose is by no means the only nor even the greatest of Indian physical scientists. Courses in mathematics, chemistry, and physics are crowded by earnest, capable students. They would be still more sought after did they lead to more definite vocational opportunity or confer the same social distinction which careers in law or medicine yield.

These careers have opened up within the years of men now living. I met a retired Indian judge in Hyderabad, who was one of the first crop of native Indian barristers to appear before the courts of Bombay. Now a visit to the High Courts of any great city like Calcutta or Bombay or Madras reveals the very cream of Indian intellect, with only the barest sprinkling of Europeans. The same thing is happening in medicine. The great School of Tropical Medi-

cine in Calcutta has helped to raise the whole level of Indian medical research and practice. Slowly the common people are being taught to think in terms of sanitation and preventive medicine rather than to resort to a folk-medicine still obviously tinged with Shamanism. Dentistry now is beginning to follow the same route; young scientific enthusiasts like Doctor Ahmed and Doctor Dhringa of Calcutta are applying their American training to raising standards of office practice, to developing clinics, and to dental education. To these young scientists belongs the honor of founding the first dental journal in the Orient. It will not be long, therefore, until dentistry is Indianized and elevated out of the hands of quacks and barbers.

Now with the spread of modern industrialism, may not chemistry and engineering traverse somewhat the same cycle? Government contracts have gone heretofore largely to European engineers. But electrical engineers like B. C. Roy (whom I had known as a student at the University of Illinois) are beginning to make headway. He has installed several municipal electric systems, including one at Madura. New docks, irrigation projects, city plans, mines, cement works, street railways and the like will tend gradually to increase the demand for native engineers. If the plan to Indianize the railways in ten years is carried out, still greater opportunities will be opened up to native engineering talent. And in-

dustrial chemistry needs only a little more encouragement and some judicious mulches of capital to offer a very fertile field. Already institutions like Forman College at Lahore are specializing in industrial chemistry. Never have I seen a greater thrill of pride than in the young Hindu professor of soap-making as he pointed out his chemicals, his great mixing tank, and his finished product. He makes good soap! With a certain setting of the teeth he explained that to a Hindu the touching of animal fat is taboo; yet that he mixes fats with his own hands, partly to produce results as a good chemist, partly as an example of the need for breaking down caste restrictions if India would progress industrially. Worse yet, he declared, his two brothers had opened up a tannery in Karachi. These young chemists and engineers and dentists and sanitarians are the advance guard of a great peace army which can create the economic organization and the industrial morale upon which sound political consciousness and successful self-government may be built.

The problem of raising Indian agriculture to the level of applied science is much easier to state than to solve. Missionaries have labored with it; Government has created schools of agriculture and experiment stations; critics have railed at the peasant cultivators (ryots) for their inefficiency; a notable Imperial Agricultural Commission is just finishing its investigations and begins to issue preliminary advice.

But the agricultural situation improves slowly, if at all, and for many reasons, not all of them valid. The Tagores at Bolpur, Higginbotham at Allahabad, Lal Singh at Khalsa, and other teachers have shown that Indian climate need not limit the farmer to one crop. The Tagores grow three successive crops on their experimental grounds, using only such tools as the ryots can afford. At the Allahabad agricultural school I saw a plot of alfalfa from which twenty crops a year were cut. From Khalsa College as a center Lal Singh was preaching the gospel of horticulture as a means of securing diversification of crops suitable to the Indian climate.

Abysmal poverty and lack of any margins of income which might be put into better farm machinery is a very real handicap. Everywhere the curse of the poor is their poverty. For a good while to come the Indian peasant must be taught to use his own simple, clumsy tools to better advantage. The Tagores do not even use the cheapest kind of hand pump to lift water for irrigation — the natives still use the traditional sheet-iron scoop — and yet produce three-fold the former crop. Some American-trained agricultural teachers are working in the direction of co-operative effort to make possible introduction of tractors, steel plows, American pumps, and other farm machinery. Missionaries discovered long ago that advice to use larger plows was futile, because the Indian draught animals, the buffaloes, could not pull

them. A horse can pull as much as two buffaloes; but a horse is an impossible luxury except to the army and the *Zemindars*.

The traditional "cow problem" is one of the chief handicaps to Indian agriculture. I need not repeat here the details of this depressing phase of Hindu life. Suffice it to say, and that with sympathy as well as firmness, that no country with the rather limited grazing area of India could stand the burden of these millions of supernumerary, unproductive cattle. It is perhaps the most astounding example in the world today of countering and thwarting natural selection by permitting the obviously unfit to breed at random. One of the ways out of India's vicious circle of poverty would appear then to be scientific cattle-breeding and dairying. But they have made little progress yet. The peasants are too poor and too ignorant to respond actively. The landowners and their sons are class conscious and refuse to work with their hands. If they go to college they rarely return to their lands but join the ranks of the clerks and lawyers. If they take agricultural training it is not to become "dirt-farmers" but to take government jobs as inspectors or advisers, or teachers in agricultural schools.

At Allahabad they tell the story of the young scion of a well-to-do landowner, who sent the boy to study dairying. He arrived at the school with a secretary and a servant, and inquired for the professor of

dairying, a young Cornell-trained Canadian. Just at that moment the professor had his sleeves rolled up in the midst of cheese-making. When he appeared the young Hindu queried aghast, "Do I have to do *that*?" "Sure!" came the prompt and decisive answer. Whereupon without another word the *Zemin-dar's* pride turned about and went away with his servant and his secretary trailing after.

A well-known Indian professor of agriculture, after ten years of California and contact with the spirit of manual self-reliance, complained to me even of the Sikh students, who are reckoned usually as more upstanding than the average run of Indian youth. Poor as many of them are, he said, they would not be seen walking from the railroad station to the college campus, but must take a rattling one-horse tonga; would not think of carrying a small bundle but must have a coolie. Hence it delighted his heart, and mine, to see a hundred of these same youth at the experimental farm, down on their hands and knees, weeding under the sharp eye of their instructor. He is working to generalize the acceptance of agriculture as an elective college subject for the B. A. degree, to develop agricultural teaching in elementary and secondary schools, and to get the Sikh community committed to a policy of scientific agriculture on its vast holdings of rich Punjab lands.

Meanwhile at Allahabad the villagers are being taught improved milk production, honesty, and clean-

liness. The college buys milk in addition to what its own herd yields. A sample of each villager's butter-fat delivery is put each day in a test tube; at the end of a week the result is shown to each and appropriate advice given. If this savors of magic, consider the effect of the butter-fat tester — a simple, specific-gravity tube plunged into the milk. Many a poor villager has gone away marveling over how the Sahib knew he had watered his milk that morning.

What effects the Agricultural Commission will have cannot yet be estimated. Meanwhile some of the Provincial Governments are becoming increasingly alert. The Punjab has recently called Professor Lal Singh to its staff as horticultural adviser. If this means a wider area for his educational dynamic it is a significant straw. The Government of Madras is considering an amendment to the Agriculturists' Loan Act, which will make possible loans for agricultural industries as well as for mere cultivation and improvement of the land. For example, this amendment would make it possible for the peasant farmer to add to his income by employment between seasons hulling rice, ginning and baling cotton, decorticating ground-nuts, crushing sugar cane, and manufacturing *jaggery* or sugar. To do these jobs now handled by the exporter, considerable capital investment in machinery is requisite. If such legislation becomes effective, it should help not only to break the vicious circle of peasant poverty, and offer

an additional alternative to Mahatma Gandhi's spinning wheel, but also add an incentive to scientific agricultural training. Still further it ought to enlarge greatly the scope of cooperative effort, in itself no mean contribution to Indian education.

A third general judgment on a century of westernized Indian education has to do with its effect on women. While it is altogether possible to find in Hindu classic literature stories and passages indicating a tender, even romantic, relationship between men and women, and other passages which would lead one to believe that women were held to be the equals of men in the home and in the State, nevertheless on the whole there can be no question that the Laws of Manu have prevailed rather than the romantic love of Krishna or the spirit of earlier literary idyls. However, when we say that the Indian woman's status has been subordinate to that of men, we are only stating a particular case within a general principle that has obtained for more than twenty centuries of Indo-European social history. The West has emerged from that cloud just a little earlier than the Orient.

But Indian women are beginning to think and to question; to come out from that mental *purdah* which was much more devastating than the physical seclusion which weakened them and laid them open to the ravages of tuberculosis and other maladies. Mission schools, women's colleges, European and

American education and travel, study of women's emancipation movements in the West, and association with fathers or husbands educated in the West have all contributed to releasing some Indian women from bondage to the past. No longer are women secluded away from civilization as they were in the early days, declares Miss Tagore, the poet's niece; they have the right to vote, are more on an equality with men than ever before, sit on Municipal Councils and hold other political offices, are entering the fine arts and other professions, and are working in all the fields of modern knowledge. This holds true, however, for only a small fraction of India's 150,000,000 women. Some of the most highly "emancipated" women I have met in all the world are Hindu through and through, save for their westernized education. Even they are not typical of the vast majority of their Indian sisters.

Miss Tagore insists that women are not so ill-treated as people of the West believe, and adds in explanation that since Hindus feel that the finer things of life are expressed through women, for that very reason they believe that women must be kept in seclusion in order to preserve and protect them. There is just a bit too much of the apologetic and of what modern psychologists call "rationalization" in that sweeping declaration. It sounds too much like the argument that defends polygamy as evidence of a man's great regard for women. This by no

means implies that all Indian men are brutal to their wives. Some may be, but on the whole the outstanding quality of the Indian character is its gentleness and resignation. But a social system may inflict hardship, cruelty, suffering, may abuse and exploit and degrade by subtle methods, without gross or obvious violence or harshness. Child marriage, the status of the widow, and female illiteracy are indices of woman's subordination which require a good deal of explaining to explain away. Literate males outnumber females ten to one in India. While 5 per cent of the male population is undergoing instruction, only one per cent of females enjoys that privilege.

Missionary literature abounds in pictures of the Indian widow's sad lot. But you do not have to take the word of foreign missionaries as final. Enlightened men all over India deplore the fact. Hindu students in America have expressed themselves to me even more passionately over the widow question than over British imperialism or the color line. One of the noblest Indian women we met, educated, highly intelligent, married to an outstandingly able Hindu, who came out of *pardah* to entertain us in her home, told my wife frankly she thought it a great mistake to have abolished the suttee (widow-burning). She was sad — most Indian women are — and stated her conviction that Indian men do not love their wives; but was sadder still at the fate of her sister-in-law, a widow, who was dragging out her years as a house-

hold drudge in that home. Education and the example of the Tagores and other Brahmo-Somajists are breaking through the traditional widow taboo, particularly in the case of child widows. But uncounted millions of Indian women have not yet shared the freedom enjoyed by the happy few. It may be this sad prospect, it may be animistic beliefs, or climate, or Karma, or grinding poverty, but whatever the reason, Indian women are not conspicuously happy. Those who have been emancipated by higher education appear astonishingly vivacious and buoyant. Besides these few my wife found the only other happy women in mission schools like Lal Bagh and Isabella Thoburn College for Women at Lucknow. Such is the dynamic in Christian education.

The third index, child marriage, is at once a cultural survival, a by-product of poverty, and a phase of the almost universal phallicism which pervades and perverts Hindu folk thought. Mrs. Urquhart in her very sympathetic study of Bengal women charges this prevalent phallic element with the "precocious cultivation of sex instinct and insistence upon the glories of fecundity—which color too strongly the domestic and social laws of Bengal." Mahatma Gandhi confesses with humiliation his early marriage and paternity. Thus he enlarges upon the theme and asks: "Is it a matter for joy that mere boys and girls should have children? Is it not rather a curse of God? . . . We sing hymns of praise and

thanksgiving when a child is born of a boy father and a girl mother! Could anything be more dreadful? . . . Verily we are in this respect far worse than even the lower animals." Professor Ghurye of the University of Bombay in a most matter-of-fact way states the even darker implications of this custom: "In India it is well known that at the time of her marriage a girl is premature. In some parts of the country, like Bengal, cohabitation begins immediately after marriage."

Only universal, even compulsory, elementary education for all Indian women and wider access to higher learning for many of them, an increasing number of enlightened fathers, husbands, and brothers, purification of native religion, independent of or inspired by Christian missionary effort, and a complete break with the tradition which so far has practically closed the teacher's profession to women, only these measures can dispel the pall which too obviously still envelopes Indian women and bring them that freedom which is yet scarcely more than a noble, vicarious hope cherished by a choice vanguard of Indian men and women.

Just as education is improving the status of women in Japan, China, and India, so it is shaking off the shackles of caste. Whatever may have been the utility of caste in preserving the integrity of Hindu social structure in the past, it is due for profound change as the newer educational and religious

movements gain momentum. The most embarrassing, indeed, unanswerable, question, What about the "untouchables"? presses for answer, and can only be answered by a purified religion and a more effective education. Americans are embarrassed by the negro problem, several millions of the disinherited. During sixty-five years American negroes have been slowly achieving social status. They labor under severe discriminations, legal and otherwise, but they are not completely outcaste, compelled to live in the outer social limbo to which Indian custom still after three thousand years consigns one-fifth of her entire population. Free spirits like the Tagores and Gandhi labor and preach and live in protest against this terrific social injustice. Christian missions have offered thousands a way of escape. And literally millions of the untouchables are stirring in preparation for mass movements toward Christianity. The churches tremble at the prospect of such an inundation. Meanwhile the outcastes themselves have learned the art of organized protest and on more than one occasion have by massed "passive resistance" compelled the privileged castes to share such elementary rights as the use of a public highway. These outcastes are not in any sense the degenerate dregs of Hindu society. Many of them could buy and sell a good many penniless Brahmins. Nor are they low-grade intellects. Hindu records include notable saints and learned men springing from the pariahs. The faculty of one

of India's leading universities includes the brilliant grand-daughter of a sweeper outcaste who turned to Christianity.

Nationalism, industrialism, the inroads of Mohammedanism and Christianity upon traditional Hindu religion, and westernized education are the four chief batteries playing upon Indian caste walls. The students who leave India for Europe or America break caste by the very fact of travel in miscellaneous company. Most of them soon fall into foreign ways of food and take on other western manners, good and bad. Whiskey and soda is a frequent but not necessary symbol of their new freedom. But western education in both government and missionary schools and colleges acts as a solvent of caste. Sectarianism, while dominant at Benares or Aligarh in spite of broad, tolerant leaders like Pandit Mola-viya, rears its head at the secular institutions also. At Allahabad University, for example, each Hindu student has his own little cook-hole where in solemn isolation he prepares his food. Such a system cannot fail to make for self-preoccupation, social unconcern, and political disunity.

Western science, even western skepticism, has been acting as a vigorous solvent against caste and other Hindu traditions. A burning soul, otherwise a charming young professor of chemistry from South India, was describing to me how western education was releasing the Indian mind from the passivity,

the resignation, the blind acceptance of caste and other traditional limitations by substituting the idea of scientific causation for the old Hindu belief in Karma, Fate. Karma is the curse of India, he declared; it causes that irresponsibility which seems to be in the Indian blood; it prevents rational birth-control or health work, for it makes the Hindu a fatalist, believing that God sends babies and kills them off, or their parents, according to an inscrutable purpose; it disqualifies them for self-government; it makes them inept in every way. There is no salvation for India, he went on, waxing warmer, until Karma is wiped out. All the old books teaching it should be torn up. Then he turned to me with a climax of indignation, "And now Mrs. Besant has spoiled it all! Her theosophy has revived and made respectable the doctrine of Karma which western education and missions were undermining!" Perhaps he exaggerated the influence of theosophy — for most diligent inquiry of Indian delegates returning from the International Congress at Adyar during Christmas week, 1925, failed to elicit an estimate of more than 15,000 declared theosophists in all India. Nevertheless this young Madras professor grasped very clearly the potency of education as a solvent of caste.

The scientific researches of men like Bose and the dynamic Christianity of men like Stanley Jones and Bishop Tufts of Tinnevely will probably prove more than a match for the new esoteric from Adyar,

especially since such leaders are just as zealous for genuine Indian nationalism as Mrs. Besant and some of her disciples have been. This religious and educational solvent need not work explosively; indeed, in its very nature it must work quietly. Let me illustrate by the experience of Forman Collage at Lahore. From crude and painful beginnings in an abandoned Mohammedan tomb, this college has grown to a position of commanding prestige throughout Northern India. It was originally a Presbyterian institution but is taking on an inter-denominational character. Sincere tolerance radiates throughout the school; out of 900 students only 5 per cent are Christians, the rest include Mohammedans, Sikhs, and Hindus. In spite of the fact that in colleges receiving government subsidies, attendance upon religious instruction must be optional with the students, Bible reading is required at Forman, and no question or protest has ever been raised.

This Christian tolerance has effectively broken through the walls of prejudice which divided Moslem from Hindu, and Hindu from Hindu. Twenty years ago caste was rampant. It was impossible to get any real social unity among students or to create a real alumni body. Two new members of the faculty, fresh from America, had won the regard of the students; as a testimonial they were invited to dinner. Imagine their astonishment at being solemnly ushered to a little table set for two at

one end of a big room. There they sat in solitary grandeur while their young hosts grouped themselves respectfully, but safe from contamination, at the other end of the room. Caste and outcaste could not eat together. Now, twenty years after, the alumni foregather at the College every year and sit down together, Moslem, Christian, Hindu, meat-eaters, and vegetarians. The vegetarians may be put together but only for ease in serving. Even more revealing is the fact that out of 900 students, most of them Hindus, it becomes increasingly difficult to get enough vegetarians to make up the twenty-five necessary for a separate kitchen; sometimes pressure has to be used. This is no propaganda for meat diet in the Indian climate. It merely declares the power of tolerance and tactful co-education of the sects to dissolve tradition and create religious peace.

We must not be understood as implying that all Western education, sanitary standards, agricultural methods, or social traditions are *ipso facto* superior to those of India. Such an assertion would be both grossly impertinent and false. The casual tourist often leaves India after a few days' hasty run from Calcutta to Bombay with the conviction that Hindus are dirty. A longer acquaintance would reveal the intense preoccupation of particularly the higher caste Hindus with cleanliness. Such scanty clothing — and that predominantly white cotton — as the climate tolerates must be washed frequently. Hence every

pool of water is fringed with busy launderers. And bathing is universal, whether ceremonial or for mere enjoyment. Western education sometimes hits a snag on this question. The Indians think westerners are dirty because we use bathtubs and wallow in our own offscourings. The Hindu pours clean water over his body or bathes in a stream or open pool. A mission college for girls installed several fine porcelain bathtubs as part of its program of sanitary teaching. The girls struck, complaining that these bathing arrangements were unsanitary. The tubs were replaced by showers, which were accepted as cleaner and more in keeping with Indian tradition.

A fifth and final observation on the general effects of western education upon India is the creation of a common language — English. India like China has received a double benefit from the habit of using English as the official language in schools, courts, and the public service. It creates at least the mechanics of national unity in a country with half a dozen major tongues (Urdu, Hindi, Pali, Tamil, Gujerati, Bengali, Maharati) and hundreds of dialects. Two Indian students took dinner with me recently, one a Sikh from the Punjab, the other a Bengali from Dacca; neither could speak the other's tongue, but both were eloquent in English. In Hyderabad my wife was given a Hindu cookbook for translation and publication in America. She showed it to a highly educated Indian lady in Amritsar and asked her

judgment. Her friend could not make out even the letters, to say nothing of being able to read the book. Hindi or Urdu will serve the traveler through much of North India, but is useless in the South. Hence the Nationalist campaigns have been waged in English. Gandhi speaks usually in English and his paper *Young India* is written in it. When the Calcutta University Commission began its work, a leading Indian Nationalist told them they might reform as much as they pleased and eliminate whatever they thought necessary, but one subject they must not touch, and that was English. Why? Not merely because a hateful tongue had become a public convenience, but even more because through it aspiring India could keep touch with the treasures of English and American liberal thought, check up on the West and exact some measure of consistency between western political idealism and Indian administrative practice.

What part are Indian students themselves playing in this educational history? I cannot say that there is an Indian "youth movement"; but Indian students like Chinese or Japanese or Egyptian or German students are thinking in political and social terms and provoking popular demonstrations. So far as I am aware there is nothing among Indian students comparable to the mass education movement conceived and being carried on by Chinese students. Mahatma Gandhi made a special appeal to students

but cannot be said to have scored a signal triumph. The Bengalis have been notably active in Nationalist politics; but the Bengalis are natural orators — their critics, Indian as well as English, call them demagogues. In any event many of them have been willing to suffer for their convictions, some have paid the supreme penalty. This is something more than sheer demagoguery. It is safe to say that a large percentage of the Indian students who come to America are of the Left, even revolutionary, end of Indian politics. Hence the tendency to suspect all Hindu youth of revolutionary propaganda, conspiracies, assassinations. This is libelous and misleading. The despair of Indian Nationalist leaders is the lack of political consciousness. Scarcely one in ten thousand Hindus is interested in politics, said one of these leaders. A much larger proportion of students can be counted upon, but the vast majority must perforce think of a living, a career, a family.

Sometimes a political or religious issue will obtrude itself violently upon the university arena. At a notable college in North India the students went on strike in protest against certain acts of the British authorities. The Principal resigned. The provincial authorities telegraphed the head of a neighboring government college requesting him to take over the center of trouble. Much against the urgent entreaties of his wife, he did so. A mob of 600 students greeted him with hoots and howls as he arrived at the college

gates, and all but chased him to his living quarters. For several days he was literally besieged in his own house. Murderous threats were sent in to him. He was reminded that an English predecessor had been attacked twelve years before by a student-assassin, but had escaped through a providential blunder on the youth's part; and that he, a Hindu, might expect the same fate.

Again his wife begged him to leave. But this handsome, cultured scholar had a backbone of steel; he was a real Punjabi. The mob urged him to go, in words closely resembling our "go while the going is good." But he sent out word to the students that he was there to stay, that he was not afraid; that he could die only once. He carefully dodged the students' trap by declining to suspend them and thus make martyrs of them. Finally perceiving that peace was impossible, he suddenly cut the ground from under the mob by announcing that the college would close that very day and would remain closed until Autumn. Notice was served that any students not off the grounds by evening would be thrown out as trespassers. And he kept his word.

In the Autumn only about a tenth of the disturbers returned: the rest had flunked out, grown tired of the game, or been disciplined by their families and sent elsewhere. Meanwhile the Principal had not been idle. With approval of Government he organized a corps of husky farm laborers as campus police.

On the opening day one of the young recalcitrants posted himself as a silent picket before the door of the Principal's office. The Principal attended by two of his "huskies" approached and asked the youth to stand aside. He shook his head. Then came warning that if he did not move he would be forcibly ejected. Still stubborn refusal. Then a silent gesture to the two farm laborers, and the young striker was rolling over and over in the dust. The news spread. Notice followed that all students were to be prepared at 6:30 the next morning to resume work as normal or be literally thrown out by more farm laborers, if necessary backed up by the whole provincial military. That broke the strike and ended the trouble. I never had a quieter, more responsive audience than those selfsame students eighteen months after.

Episodes like this embarrass intelligent Hindus and make them fearful, as several said openly, of Gandhi's influence on callow youth, and of the mess which extremist students can make by mixing politics and education with a liberal seasoning of violence and direct action. Foreboding of just such scenes prompted Judge Bromsfield's allocution in pronouncing sentence on Mahatma Gandhi. Can we wonder that the able educational leader who broke this student strike, yet who has scant cause to be grateful to the English, is entirely out of sympathy with radical Swarajist tactics and says flatly he has no

faith that Indians will be able to govern themselves for a long time, if ever?

The subject of athletics in educational India can be summarily disposed of. Tropical temperatures do not foster the more violent sports like football. I saw a very vigorous football game between young Englishmen and Americans one steamy evening in Singapore, but characteristically the Malays sat around watching, not playing. Indian students have accepted the traditional English games, tennis, cricket, and hockey. Intercollegiate meets are common, but college sports are not the large-scale industry we have permitted to infest university life in America. The Y. M. C. A. has helped in fostering an interest in active, outdoor sports and has developed some crack Indian athletes. Social settlements like the Parel center of the Bombay Social Service League are increasingly proud of their gymnasium classes. The test, however, in India as everywhere, is spontaneous imitation: by this test hockey and tennis particularly have "caught on." For just as in Japan you see back-lot baseball everywhere, so the open spaces of an Indian city are overrun by amateur hockey games. And I am almost persuaded that one of the chief inducements to an Indian student for the B. A. is the vision of a tennis net at the end of his day in a government office.

Even this hopelessly inadequate "impression" of

Indian education would be still worse without some specific judgment upon the missionary schools. Colleges founded by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists gave me personal contacts. These personal impressions were clarified and strengthened by frank and unsolicited statements from qualified Indians. There seems to be substantial agreement that the best missionary colleges are doing excellent work. They have undoubtedly served the emancipation of women. They have given opportunity to the disinherited outcasts. In some cases their educational standards set the pace not only for teaching but for new ideas, especially in applied science. The devotion of their teachers is constantly remarked. The wholesome school atmosphere, the concern for student moral life, the student-faculty relations, are regarded with a certain wistfulness by some government college heads.

Their religious tolerance is a revelation to a westerner accustomed to petty denominationalism in some of the smaller church schools, say, in our Southern States. Just one example: the Professor of Divinity at Khalsa College, Teja Singh, a distinguished scholar devoted to spreading Sikhism, was for five years professor of history at the United Presbyterian College in Rawlpindi. Could you imagine a Unitarian professor in one of our fundamentalist, rock-bottom church colleges, even north of Mason and Dixon's line? It is safe to say that

left to themselves these missionary outposts would more and more unite on essentials and forget rigid denominational lines. For the sake of both religion and education in China or India the fundamentalist committees of inquiry — or inquisition — sent out by church bodies at home are sheer disaster. They threaten what perhaps is the choicest prospect of missionary teaching, namely, a new type of Christianity, unalloyed by western methods of organization, western politics, or western economic methods.



There is of course some justice in the criticism that decries too naive faith in education as the solution of every social problem. Like "instinct" the word "education" is frequently conscripted to take the place of rigorous thinking, when discussion gets into a tight place. On the other hand there is no sound reason for playing into the hands of the enemy by permitting a shallow, cynical defeatism to darken counsel. No competent observer can deny the power of education in the Orient today as a content of new knowledge, a set of new methods, and a new spirit. India, to be sure, presents an educational problem which promises to tax the utmost resources of faith, patience, good will, and money. But even that teeming continent of poverty and ignorance is becoming slowly permeated with new social ideals, new yearnings, new political consciousness, and a

new industry, all of which cry for educational expression and accompaniment.

In China the educational ferment has gone farther. A respite of internal peace and political unity would enormously accelerate both industrialism and modern education. I talked with a Chinese graduate student the other day. He has had both the old classical and the new westernized education. There was in his voice a certain wistfulness, but even more of determination to accept a manifest *fait accompli*, as he explained that he is probably the last of his long family line to enjoy the traditional classical training. To his children it will be naught but a phase of ancient history. The whole transition may be summarized and symbolized by his resolution to translate into Chinese my book on Progress. For China as well as India now prepares to leave the age of status and move on to the stage of dynamic contract.

The transformation of Japan since the Meiji era is rather an educational than a military triumph. And that wise statesmanship, which concerns itself so intensely with education in the process of putting its house in order, not only aids in destroying the ancient bogey of oriental inscrutability, but makes of Japan an active partner in the great humane enterprise of reducing still further the world's jungle of ignorance, suspicion, and fear.

IV.

APOLOGIA AND APPENDIX



APOLOGIA AND APPENDIX

THESE lectures were wrought out primarily from travel notes for audiences interested in net truth rather than in any parade of scholarship. To the cordial reception given them by the Chicago Literary Club, the Chicago Liberal Club, and students and faculty colleagues at Northwestern University, Illinois, and Minnesota is largely due the willingness to undertake the labor of preparing them for the press.

Let me first put in a word as to method. It combined preliminary reading, direct interview, and supplementary reading to check the sum of personal impressions. The result makes no pretension to being anything more than opinion. But nobody can claim access to the whole of truth. Each person's honest impressions, honestly set down, help toward understanding. If I had spent days or weeks instead of months in the Orient I could have written a book. Perhaps if my sojourn had run into years I should not have hazarded even a lecture.

Generalizations about any great country are invalid. They are particularly so in a land like India or China whose peoples sweep the whole gamut of human culture. Nearly any statement about them may be branded as true and false at the same time. China, for example, is too kaleidoscopic for safe prediction or even sound observation. Indian *mores* are such a subtle mosaic that the life work of a trained scholar hardly suffices to interpret a single corner of the pattern.

The fault is not by any means altogether the traveler's; indeed, the trained eyes of a properly prepared sociologist often see farther and deeper than those of the native or old resident. What to the latter is accepted as a matter of course and in the nature of things is to the scientific traveler the fascinating end of a thread which he immediately wants to pick at and unravel. Moreover the native has usually traveled little beyond his own locality and knows only local customs and their interpretation. A local householder in an ordinary American city is the last person in the world to consult for a judgment as to the best hotel in his city. An honest Indian or Chinese student will tell you frankly that he knows only by reading or hearsay about any parts of his country outside his immediate horizon. If you want to test this provincialism, ask a Chinaman, Who are the real Chinese? Or, do Chinese women still bind their feet? Or, do the Chinese still practice polygamy? Or ask an Indian such an elementary question as, Why do some men henna their beards? and see how many different answers you get. The fierce letters hurled at journals like the *New Statesman*, which printed favorable reviews of Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, proceeded not merely from the itch for publicity or the zeal of the propagandist but frequently from a sincere desire to present at least another worm's eye view of truth. So long as worms do not imagine they are birds, no harm is done to truth or human friendships. If in these lectures I have assumed the wider view of a bird on the wing, it is a very modest bird, not the eagle but rather one of those less consequential species that were sold three for a farthing, yet large enough to carry an olive branch of good will and international understandings.

My obligations are numerous and heavy. To name all who helped me in this oriental pilgrimage might prove embarrassing if any responsibility for the result were attached to them. But I must express gratitude to at least Professor E. A. Ross, Professor James W. Garner, and Miss Jane Addams for counsel and letters of introduction; to officers and members of the Hindustani Association of America for opening the way to close acquaintance with relatives and friends and nationalist leaders; to former students and friends like Dr. Fong F. Sec of Shanghai, B. C. Roy of Madura, and Y. Uyeno of Tokyo. To the hospitable Indians, Chinese, and Japanese who opened their homes, our obligation is measureless.

But without doubt the greatest source of sympathetic understanding came to us from the missionaries. Too often we at home in the West think of missionaries as lapped in luxury, waited on by retinues of servants, doing a little preaching or teaching or medical work, going off to foreign parts to shine among inferiors because they could not make a living at home among their superiors. Of course there are weak brothers, unwise virgins, and obvious misfits in every field. And you find them amongst foreign missionaries. But on the whole we found the mission workers earnest, high-minded, hard working, putting up with gross discomforts, displaying more unity than exists between their respective denominations at home, and above all loving the people to whom they ministered, defending them, understanding them. As one veteran in Japan put it to me, "Every missionary thinks his brand of heathen is the best." At mission colleges, normal schools, or universities, everywhere the same warm testimony to the quality of the native student, whether

at Doshisha, Kobe, or Hiroshima; Yen Ching, Soochow or Tsing Hua; Madura, Wilson, Isabella Thoburn, or Forman.

Certainly no one who wants to know the East can afford to neglect the missionaries. Technical scholarship like De-Groot's *Religious Systems of China* or Hopkins' *Religions of India* yields an accurate and detailed knowledge of certain native observances. But if you want to slip into the skin of a Chinaman, read Dr. Arthur H. Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* or *Village Life in China*. Or if you want to get the real "feel" of India go through a book like Stanley Jones's *Christ of the Indian Way*. In brief, I cannot make common cause with those short-sighted critics who say that missionaries ought to stay at home and mind their own business. I may not personally accept their soul-pilotage, but I can at least see in them the outcroppings of a genuine spiritual dynamic. Any sociologist knows that live religions do not need any express command to embark on missionary enterprise. They cannot help it. And if you doubt the effects of missions in cross fertilization of culture, trace the patient steps of the Buddhists from North India to Ceylon, Java, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. Or go to any library and check through the literature of anthropology, ethnology, or geography and note how large a part of our widened horizon in the study of Man is attributable to the mission pioneers from all sects and countries of the West.

Specific obligations in so far as I am at liberty to acknowledge them, and authority for important statements follow here, page by page.

Page 9. *A Guide to Health* by Mahatma Gandhi. Translated from the Hindi by A. Rama Iyer, M.A., Madras, 1923.

Page 18. *Sermon on the Sea*. Written in 1909 in the Gujarati dialect and published later in an English translation entitled *Indian Home Rule*. The easiest available American edition was published in Chicago, 1924, edited by H. T. Mazumdar, with an Introduction by John Haynes Holmes. The passage referred to follows:

"The people of Europe today live in better built houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilization and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness. Formerly, they wore skins, and used as their weapons spears. Now, they wear long trousers, and, for embellishing their bodies, they wear a variety of clothing and, instead of spears, they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers. If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery.

"Formerly, in Europe, people ploughed their lands mainly by manual labor. Now, one man can plough a vast tract by means of steam engines, and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilization. Formerly, the fewest men wrote books, that were most valuable. Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds. Formerly, men traveled in wagons; now they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach any part of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished-up food. Everything will be done by machinery.

"Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only so much as they liked. Now, thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion, now they are enslaved by the temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. There are now diseases of which people never dreamt before, and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their cures, and so hospitals have increased. This is a test of civilization. Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send letters; today, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter, for one penny. True, at the same cost, one can send one's thanks also. Formerly people had two or three meals consisting of home-made bread and vegetables; now, they require something to eat every two hours, so that they have hardly leisure for anything else.

"What more need I say? All this you can ascertain from several authoritative books. These are all true tests of civilization. And, if any one speaks to the contrary, know that he is ignorant. This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach religion. Some even consider it to be a superstitious growth. Others put on the cloak of religion, and prate about morality. But, after twenty years' experience, I have come to the conclusion that immorality is often taught in the name of morality. Even a child can understand that in all I have described above there can be no inducement to morality. Civilization seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so.

"This civilization is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people of Europe that those who are in it appear to be

half-mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets, or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million women in England alone are laboring under trying circumstances in factories or similar institutions. This awful fact is one of the causes of the daily growing suffragette movement.

"This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed."

Page 21. J. F. Jameson, *The American Revolution considered as a Social Movement*, p. 85.

Page 30. Mr. S. C. Mookerjee is a barrister of Calcutta, affiliated with the Brahmo-Somaj group which includes the Tagores and other liberals; he is also a moderate Nationalist. The following extract will give some measure of his book:

"The advent of Buddhism was the dawn of the Golden Age for India in every respect. It gave freedom to women and emancipated the Sudras who had been victimised by the rigour of the caste system.

"The purdah system, to my mind, came into existence and vogue with the revival of Hinduism, on the ashes of the last and decadent phase of the post-Buddhistic age. The Hindu society had reached then a stage in its vices and indecencies that had become repulsive to the better minds of the people. And it became a necessity to separate the women from the men, who could not be trusted as regards their behaviour to the gentler sex. Living under the same roof, daughters-in-law came to be forbidden to unveil themselves before their fathers-in-law and other elders to her own husband.

"One of the causes of the downfall of the Hindus is that their society had to pass through that frightfully erotic and vulgar stage." (pp. 46-7)

Page 37. Sir J. C. Bose's chief publications are *Response in the Living and Non-living*, 1902; *Plant Response as a*

Means of Physiological Investigation, 1906; *Comparative Electro-Physiology*, 1907; *Researches on Irritability of Plants*, 1913; *Physiology of the Ascent of Sap*, 1923; and several volumes of *Transactions* of his Research Institute. Sir Patrick Geddes' *Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose* is the admiring testimony of one great biologist for another.

A handy summary of Bose's life and work was issued (without date) by Ganesh and Co., Cambridge Press, Madras, under the title, *Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, His Life and Speeches*.

Page 51. Sherwood Eddy's *New World of Labor* is full of interesting lights upon industrial conditions throughout the Orient. The source book, *Women in Industry in the Orient*, republished in 1927 by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the U. S. A., contains many excellent items on general labor questions in China, Japan, and India.

Page 55. For the population and employment statistics on Japan I am indebted to Miss Yasu Iwasaki, who extracted them from official Japanese sources such as the *Statistical Year Book*, *Japanese Year Book*, *Annual Financial and Economic Reports*, etc.

Page 60. This editorial matter was reprinted in the *Monthly Labor Review* of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, Oct. 1926, pp. 38-9.

Page 64. See Matsumoto's article, "The New Labor Movement in Japan," in the *Nation*, March 25, 1925 (Vol. 120, p. 313). On other phases of Japanese labor conditions see articles in the *Nation*, Sept. 9, 1925, Jan. 20, 1926, and June 16, 1926.

Page 65. See the article, "Recent Japanese Labor Legis-

lation" in *Monthly Labor Review*, Nov. 1926 (23: 1013-5).

Page 69. One of my graduate students, Mr. Michinari Fujita, has furnished me with data on Japanese literacy and school attendance, derived from government sources, including the Department of Education, *A General Survey of Education in Japan*, Tokyo, 1926; *43d Nippon Teikoku Tokeinenkwau*, 1914 (43d Year Book of Statistics of the Japanese Empire). Secondary source, G. E. Lewis, *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*.

Page 72. Miss Iwasaki has analyzed these remarkable figures in a master's thesis in sociology, "Divorce in Japan," at Northwestern University, 1927.

Page 75. The symposium "Capitalism in China," published by *The World Tomorrow*, Nov. 1923, contains many valuable facts even though some of the opinions expressed may be open to debate.

Page 78. *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys: A Study of the Rug Industry in Peking*, by C. C. Chu and Thos. C. Blaisdell, Jr., Peking, 1924.

Page 80. Mr. Tchou furnished me with a mass of manuscript materials, most of which had not been published. These reports and publicity notes covered hours, wages, working conditions, and recommendations for the guidance and improvement of industrialism in China.

Page 83. In an interview with a *Monitor* correspondent during the summer of 1927, Sun Fo, son of the late Sun Yat Sen, real founder of the Chinese Nationalist movement, declared that China's basic problem is agrarian. "Without a satisfactory solution of the land question," he said, "without an improvement in the living conditions of the peasants who constitute by far the largest element in China's popula-

tion, our party cannot hope to obtain the support of the people and our movement will degenerate into a mere military adventure. . . . *The greatest source of agrarian exploitation and unrest in China today is the excessive rent which landlords demand of their tenants.* This rent reaches 60 per cent and in some cases 80 per cent of the tenant's produce." (*Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 27, 1927. Italics mine.)

Page 88. These wage data are derived largely from Tchou, Chu and Blaisdell, and Meng and Gamble's *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking, 1900-1924*, Peking, 1926. The Secretary of the Labor Federation of Hupeh Province, of which Hankow is the capital, gave a *Monitor* correspondent figures for 320,000 union members in the summer of 1927. Twenty to thirty per cent of these workers were earning from \$3 to \$7 Mex. per month; fifty to sixty per cent from \$10 to \$16 Mex.; and ten to twenty per cent from \$20 to \$30 Mex.

Page 91. The most authentic statistics on Chinese strikes and data on recent labor history in China come from Professor Ta Chen, "Study of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1925," *Monthly Labor Review*, Aug. 1926; and "The Labor Movement in China," *International Labor Review*, March, 1927 (summarized in *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1927).

Page 97. See the striking little booklets of the Y.W.C.A., *Chinese Triangles* and *Threads*, which describe industrial conditions and the attempts of the Y.W.C.A. at amelioration. Also the Report of the Child Labor Commission, issued as a supplement to *Christian Industry*, Sept. 29, 1924, by the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council.

Page 108. See bibliographic note to page 91.

Page 112. Special correspondence from Shanghai to the *Christian Science Monitor*. July 22, 1927, seems to indicate that despite temporary reverses the Russian Soviets still regard China as a promising field for Communistic activity. The executive committee of the International adopted a long resolution on China at a session in May, 1927:

"This resolution contains a detailed table of instructions for the Chinese Communists. 'Agrarian revolution, including the confiscation and nationalization of land,' is pronounced a factor of basic importance in the new stage of the Chinese revolutionary movement. The Chinese Communists are told to bend all their energies to securing a radical solution of the agrarian question, involving the seizure of land belonging to the gentry and the wealthy classes in the cities and its distribution among the peasants. It is in the development of this peasant movement that the Communist International sees the best weapon for destroying the moderate nationalist government which has been set up in Nanking under the auspices of General Chiang Kai-shek.

"It seems that the Chinese Communists in their attitude toward the agrarian question have not always been radical enough to suit the International and the resolution, after noting 'a number of waverings' on this point among the Chinese Communists, declares that 'the Chinese Communist Party must head the agrarian movement of the peasants and must pitilessly fight against all attempts to place a limit upon this movement.'

"The formation of military forces which shall be reliable from the Communist standpoint receives some attention in the resolution. Warned by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's successful anti-Communist coup in Shanghai and Nanking and by the rebellions of some minor generals in the territory controlled by the radical Wuhan Government, the International lays great stress on the necessity for arming the workers and peasants, thereby creating a 'class army,' which cannot be

turned against the radical elements at the behest of an individual conservative general.

"The Chinese Communists are instructed to continue collaborating with the Wuhan Government, and are warned against premature ill-advised attempts to create Soviets and to substitute for the radical nationalist Wuhan régime an out-and-out Communist government. The time is not judged ripe for such attempts. At the same time the resolution predicts that Chiang Kai-shek's defection will be followed in time by the falling off of other more moderate elements which still adhere to the Wuhan Government and contains the following significant prophecy:

" 'With the further development of the revolution, it will be indispensable to create Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies, and the slogan of organizing Soviets will become the central slogan of the party.'

"Participating in the Wuhan Government and supporting it, the Chinese Communists are given a certain degree of latitude in maneuvering and, when it is considered necessary, making concessions to the 'foreign imperialists.' This is significant, in view of the recent more moderate course of the Wuhan authorities, and their effort to coax back the foreign business which has been driven away from Hankow by the earlier ebullitions of extremism. The resolution also warns the Chinese comrades against trying to organize immediate insurrection against Gen. Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai. It points out that the presence in Shanghai of a strong foreign defense force, which would be called into action against disorders, makes any armed outbreak against Chiang Kai-shek hopeless and inadvisable at the present moment."

Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat Sen, in an interview during the summer of 1927 flatly denied that his father was a Marxian Socialist. To the very direct question, "Does the Kuomintang program call for the introduction of Socialism in the Marxian sense of the term?" he replied with equal directness, "No, Sun Yat Sen's idea was that there is room

for both state and private capitalism in the development of China. Certain key industries such as the railroads, for instance, will be kept largely or entirely in the hands of the state, with a view to avoiding the excessive inequalities which are associated with unrestrained capitalism."

"You do not then propose to nationalize or confiscate factories which are already operating under private capitalist management?"

"Emphatically not," Sun Fo declared. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 27, 1927).

Page 124. Social Service League of Bombay, *Slumland of Bombay*. Sanitation Department Pamphlet No. 1, 1922.

Page 142. Professor Kaji contributed these impressions to the *Bombay Chronicle*, Oct. 1, 1922. Reprinted in *Slumland of Bombay*, p. 45.

Page 144. Thirteenth Annual Report of the Social Service League, Bombay, 1925.

Page 146. I am grateful to one of my faithful students, Mr. N. N. Chaudbury for assistance in checking up on Indian labor legislation. The two best works in this field are Professor R. K. Das's *Factory Legislation in India*, and *The Labor Movement in India*. See also *The Indian Year Book*, *International Labor Review*, and *Monthly Labor Review*.

Page 148. Report in *Times of India*, Bombay, Jan. 4, 1926.

Page 153. Report in *Social Service Quarterly* (Bombay), 1925, p. 68.

Page 162. See note to p. 69.

Page 166. *Osaka Mainichi*, Oct. 22, 1925.

Page 167. See a signed article, "Japan's Growing Pacif-

ism" by Frank H. Hedges in the *Christian Science Monitor*, July 7, 1927.

Page 172. *Osaka Mainichi*, Oct. 29, 1925.

Page 176. For an extended exposition of Young China's own point of view on this question see Tsi C. Wang's doctoral thesis, *The Youth Movement in China*, published by the New Republic, Inc., New York, 1927.

Page 180. Special Correspondence from Peking to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 23, 1927, summarized the effects of civil war upon Chinese higher education:

"Civil war has largely checked China's beginnings of modern higher education, as is evidenced by the large decrease in the number of applicants who wish to be listed to take the entrance examinations. Last year 2061 applied for this privilege at the Peking National University; this year the total is only 719. The same ratio of decrease is noted in all of the Government and private universities which are still operating.

"The authorities have made frequent raids upon the students' quarters on account of alleged Bolshevik plotting. Only last week 72 students were jailed here, while in Peking last semester the universities were repeatedly closed because of strikes of the professors, some of whom were two years in arrears in their salaries. In South China conditions are even worse, for most of the revenue is seized for war purposes, and most of the young men of university age are impressed into the armies."

Page 184. Mrs. R. F. Hussein, speaking before the Bengal Woman's Educational Conference, 1927.

Page 203. One of the best tempered and most sympathetic studies of Indian women is Mrs. Urquhart's *Women of Bengal*. Even it does not present the lot of a Hindu woman as enviable.

Page 205. India's phallic preoccupation is one of the chief charges in Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, charges which have provoked a violent debate in the English press. See, for example, Sir John Maynard's letter to the *New Statesman*, July 23, 1927, and in the course of which he says:

"Among this body of persons, not less than one-twelfth of the whole human race, the 'ordinary reader' is told that the boys are taught to indulge their sexual appetites three times a day, and it is regarded as quite normal that little girls of five should be legally torn to bits by husbands of fifty, and *much more often than not* (mark the phrase) infected with venereal disease even before they have reached their very early age of puberty; and these things, we are to believe, are essential to the idea of Hinduism, not mere sadist abnormalities. For the statement about the inculcation of frequent indulgence upon the boys there is no justification whatever, unless the precepts of some small and obscure sect are being cited. The fact which lurks beneath the statement on the early consummation of marriage is the unfortunate rule of unreformed popular Hinduism that consummation should take place on the first appearance of the phenomena of puberty. That is bad enough, without your reviewer's (or Miss Mayo's) exaggeration of it. The suggestion that a majority of the Hindu population is suffering from venereal disease will be contradicted by any medical practitioner who has practised among them."

Other correspondents defend Miss Mayo vigorously. One declares:

"The fact that a book does not make pleasant reading, and that it exposes vices and practices which we should like to think the world has left behind ages ago, are not sufficient reasons for refusing to publish or to read it."

And another can scarcely find words to express his loathing:

"I am fully aware that the Hindu population includes many phases, but I deny that it covers the whole gamut of human development. There are some rather foolish people in this country who would have us believe that the development of the Indian mind is superior to any other. It is nothing of the kind. It does not, even in its higher aspect, begin to approach the higher standards of western thought. The higher, philosophical Hinduism is a mass of speculation, guesses, and unwarranted assumptions concerning the unknown and the supernatural. It is mostly verbiage of no practical value. And this 'higher' Hinduism considers itself to be contaminated by contact with the lower. The latter is the religion of the savage; it consists of the grossest, and often the most obscene, superstition; it is certainly the lowest religion professed and practised by any people claiming to have risen above savagery. The ordinary, daily practices of Hinduism are enough to place it beyond the pale of civilization. . . .

"There is no hope for India until the Indians set about reforming themselves. Until the caste system is destroyed, the power of the Brahmin priests broken, the fog of gross superstition dispelled, child-marriage abolished, and the position of women elevated, the peoples of India — especially the Hindu element — cannot be received on equal terms by the civilized world."

(*New Statesman*, July 30, 1927)

Page 193. Ghurye's pamphlet, "Civilization and Fecundity," is reprinted from *Man in India*, Vol. 5, March and June, 1925.

Page 206. In April, 1927, word was cabled that the anti-caste agitation of the group known as Satyagraha (Lovers of Truth) was proceeding quietly but very determinedly in several parts of India. In the Dacca district (East Bengal) 2000 untouchables were about to embrace Christianity in a body because they were subject to social disabilities and excluded from office, even by the Bengal

Swarajist leaders. A leading Nationalist newspaper (*Forward*) admitted that if these low caste tribesmen went over to Christianity it would be because Hindu society had failed to find a place for its despised children.

In Travancore the Satyagraha carried on a campaign of passive resistance in a temple area from which they were supposed to be excluded on grounds of caste. Every day small groups entered the prohibited area and invited arrest. In an announcement to the public the directing committee of this movement intimated determination to fight to a finish the question of "untouchability"; they were not seeking to force themselves into the temples but demanded the more elementary rights of passing along the public roads. It seems incredible that in that Indian province it should be necessary to fight for opening the highways to 1,600,000 Hindus who are now excluded from them for fear of polluting the 600,000 so-called higher castes. But that is India. It is not a new issue, but is being pressed more vigorously because of the new ideas of freedom instilled by Christian missions, Mahatma Gandhi, and other preachers of universal human brotherhood.

That these untouchables are not mere clods but are well informed on public issues appears in their challenge to those ardent Hindus who protested so loudly against race-discrimination against their countrymen in South Africa. Is it consistent, they demand, to complain about ill treatment of a few Indians in South Africa when they are keeping 70,000,000 of their own brethren as untouchables in Mother India itself?

Occasionally Government takes a hand in the situation beyond sending passive resisters to jail for breach of the peace. For example, the new Viceroy, Lord Irwin, made a

surprise visit to the Central Provinces shortly after his taking office. He was amazed (though he need not have been!) to find a village near Nagpur in which the untouchables were prohibited from taking drinking water from the only decent public well. When this matter came to the ears of the local landlord he made haste, high-caste Hindu that he was, to give as a charity what he should have provided as a right, and offered to the untouchables a new well, to be adorned with a commemorative arch and named Irwin Well.

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